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East Europe

FBIS-EEU-96-165
Friday
23 August 1996

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Daily Report
East Europe

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Albania: Defense Minister Describes 'Friendly' Visit to U.S.

AU2208175696 Tirana RILINDJA DEMOKRATIKE in Albanian 22 Aug 96 p 2

[Unattributed interview with Albanian Defense Minister Safet Zhulali in Tirana on 21 August: "Defense Minister Interviewed Upon His Return From the United States"]

[FBIS Translated Text] [RILINDJA DEMOKRATIKE] Mr. Minister, you were on a visit to the United States for several days. What problems were covered by your visit?

[Zhulali] As you know from other reports, this was a friendly and official visit, which was divided into three parts. In the first part, I was present at the start of the Cooperative Osprey '96 exercises that took place at Camp Lejeune in North Carolina at the invitation of NATO Secretary General Javier Solana and General Sheehan, commander in chief of the Pacific Forces. I had the chance to attend a formal ceremony at which the 21 participating countries presented their forces taking part in this exercise, which will help to further develop the activities of the Partnership for Peace. Albania is also taking part in this activity with a peacekeeping company. I felt proud to see the Albanian company lined up at the front of the participating countries, and I had a very cordial meeting with the members of the company. They felt very proud, and my presence there was a spur to them. I also wish to say that this meeting and the company's pride and readiness and dedication to carrying out their duties honorably left an impression on me. This involvement is not only further developing our cooperation with the United States and with the other participating forces, but also raises the qualitative level of the representation of the Albanian Army in the Partnership for Peace.

[RILINDJA DEMOKRATIKE] Mr. Minister, during your visit, you held talks at the State Department and the Pentagon. What place did the current relations between the United States and Albania assume in these talks?

[Zhulali] Of course these assumed an important place in my visit. I went to Washington as the head of an Albanian Government delegation, which included Mr. Fatos Bejo, parliamentary deputy and adviser to the president; Mr. Albert Rakipi of the Foreign Ministry; and Ambassador Dilja. At this important meeting, the U.S. Government was represented by two assistant secretaries, Messrs. Wirth and Perina, by senior representatives of the National Security Council and the White House, and others. I can say that the talks took place in a friendly spirit, and both sides exchanged their views about the current state of Albanian-U.S. relations and the prospects for expanding them in the future. The Albanian delegation, after setting out its own views, stressed particularly that the Albanian Government wishes to expand relations with the United States on the basis of the consolidation of democracy, the market economy, and human rights, with an active involvement in the Partnership for Peace and in all fields of cooperation between our two states. I also stressed on behalf of the Albanian Government that we will work to consolidate and deepen democracy in Albania and to play an active role in the cause of peace and stability in the Balkans. The U.S. side also confirmed that it wishes to cooperate and to expand this cooperation with Albania on the basis of the consolidation of democracy and human rights, and will help in the development of these relations. They also support the Partnership for Peace and the positive role Albania has played and will play in the future for peace and stability in the region.

After this meeting, which was fruitful for both sides, I had a long meeting with Mr. Rudolf Perina which was devoted to another discussion of these same issues, but of course in a different and more detailed way. I think this meeting was highly constructive. After this meeting at the State Department, I had an official meeting at the Pentagon, where I was courteously welcomed by Assistant Defense Secretary White, who is acting secretary during Mr. Perry's absence from Washington. As usual, the discussions at the Pentagon took place in a spirit of friendship and mutual cooperation, the development of relations was welcomed as successful and useful for both sides, and it was said that these activities will continue in the future on the basis of the same cooperation that the U.S. Government and the Albanian Government have established together. Both sides will strive to expand and deepen further this cooperation. The U.S. side also welcomed our active participation in the Partnership for Peace, while we expressed our deep thanks for their all-round assistance, and especially for the material aid that has recently arrived and all the U.S. help given to the Albanian Army in its efforts to carry out the reform and to play an active role for peace and stability in the region.

[RILINDJA DEMOKRATIKE] Mr. Minister, we know that you also met the well-known U.S. Congressman Engel, who is one of the U.S. legislators who stands up for the cause of Kosova. Please tell us what you talked about with Congressman Engel.

[Zhulali] He invited me to a friendly meeting in New York, and I accepted his invitation with pleasure. I can say that the meeting with Congressman Engel, who is a well-known friend of Albania, was very friendly and positive for trends in Albanian-U.S. relations. We especially talked about the role he and other

U.S. legislators and officials have played personally in relations with Albania. We also talked about the role that Congressman Engel has played in Kosova in opening the U.S. Information Office and other steps he will take in this field.

We were pleased at each other's assessments of the situation, and I received an assurance from Congressman Engel that he will continue to work for Albania in the future. In this way, the circle of people working for Albania will be expanded. Congressman Engel is strongly committed to the Albanian community and, together with him, I went to the editorial office of the ILLYRIA newspaper, where we confirmed our mutual viewpoints and the friendship characterizing relations between our countries. Everybody at the ILLYRIA newspaper was pleased to see this demonstration of friendship, and people were right to hope that Albania's circle of friends will be further expanded. After this meeting, at the request of the Albanian community, I held a long meeting with many representatives of this community, of the Vatra Association, of the ILLYRIA newspaper, and of a council that has recently be created for Albanian-U.S. relations.

Many honored representatives were present, such as Antonio Athanas, who came specially from Boston, Hikmet Dine, and other gentlemen who were very interested in the progress of Albanian-U.S. relations and in democratic developments in Albania. I explained to them in particular the process of the elections in Albania, the legitimacy of this process, and the Albanians' desire for democracy. They were quite satisfied and expressed their unanimous support for democracy in Albania. They told me that a questionnaire published in ILLYRIA showed that, out of 100 people questioned, 98 had come out in support of the Democratic Party's campaign. Of course, I cannot mention everybody, but I can appreciate the contributions of several people who took part in the discussion, including Mr. Athanas, who particularly valued the work of the Democratic government and its efforts to achieve good relations with our neighbors. Mr. Zef Balaj of the Vatra Association, Gjon Bucaj, Agim Rexha, Sami Repishti, and Gjergj Gjonleka all expressed a common concern that the Albanian community in the United States should do more to support Albania and Kosova. This was a very friendly and memorable meeting that I appreciate. Every senior Albanian official who goes to the United States should meet representatives of the community, because we have a very fine community in the United States, which is very patriotic, supports the Albanian cause, and is working for the prosperity of the Albanian nation.

Albania: Berisha on U.S. Relations, Election Decree

AU2208144396 Tirana ATA in English 0614 GMT 22 Aug 96

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Tirana, August 21 (ATA)—In reply to a question in his news conference today, Albanian President Sali Berisha said that there is not any change in Democratic Party's [PD] allies and PD remains a completely pro-Western force. "There is nothing to shake PD, the government, the parliament, and Albania from a natural Western direction," said Berisha. "Albania, the parliament, and the government of this country have been and will continue to be open to all representatives of the friendly countries, to representatives of democratic states and are ready for dialogue," said Berisha in reply to another question related to a possible visit to Albania by the U.S. Assistant Secretary of State Wirth. He considered a report about this visit as a misinterpretation by the leftwing.

Answering a question about his opinion on a further development of the relations between Albania and the U.S., Berisha said: "The perspective of the relations with the U.S. is very good. The U.S. has given an invaluable assistance to Albania and has guaranteed a powerful support for the consolidation of its democratic institutions." Further on Berisha added that "Albania's objective is integration into NATO and in this regard I see a reliable perspective in the development and consolidation of the friendly relations between Albania and the U.S."

In his news conference today President of Albania Sali Berisha said in reply to a question by reporters that his decree on a permanent Election Commission has not been a challenge for the leftwing parties. "If it were a challenge, I would not leave the seats vacant for the socialists. You, who follow political developments, saw that the socialists too were present in the round table with the political parties that had participated in the local government, and in which reached some joint conclusions." Further on Berisha mentioned declarations of socialists "on the fruitful meetings and the real results attained in them." "On the basis of the first round table, I organized the second one, because we agreed to have a permanent commission in the first round table. We also agreed in the first negotiation table to amend the Law on Genocide, we also agreed on the election day and precisely on the date proposed by PS leaders. There is no doubt that an election date as near as possible would be in the interest of the party in power, the Democratic Party. But taking into account the tense situation within that political force and to respect the opponent, I determined as election day the date they had demanded," said Berisha. He stressed that despite the fact that the construction of a permanent election commission is "according to the law, an exclusive right of the President of the Republic, I still wanted to appoint the commission members together." "They did not want and boycotted the meeting. Sticking to boycotting, they were against dialogue in the round table in which 19 political parties took part. Four of them represented the parties in position and the rest were from the opposition which had sent their proposals for the candidates in the commission," said Berisha further on in reply to the question. "The decree aims at installing in Albania a permanent election commission, which, in my opinion, is an indispensable institution. It is true that it has been suggested to us and I am glad to realise it because such institutions have proved to be successful in the countries with a 200-300 year democracy. We too shall have and consolidate it," said Berisha.

Albania: Berisha Stresses 'Keynote' Relations With U.S.

AU2208174896 Tirana GAZETA SHQIPTARE in Albanian 22 Aug 96 p 3

[Unattributed report on a news conference given by Albanian President Sali Berisha in Tirana on 21 August: "Berisha Attacks the Socialists: 'We Are All Right With the United States'"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Tirana—The Socialists, the state of affairs in their party, and the dilemma posed by a possible opposition boycott of the local elections were the topics most discussed at President Sali Berisha's news conference yesterday. He again appreciated relations with the United States as one of the pillars of Albanian democracy. Talking about recent events within the largest opposition party, Berisha said: "It started as a reform process but ended up as clan warfare." Denying any direct or indirect involvement in this process, the president stressed that "the Democratic Party and I are not flirting with anybody. For me, they are opponents, and I try to defeat my opponents as crushingly as possible." What will happen if they boycott the local elections? For the president, this would only be self-sacrifice on the part of the opposition, which would finally lose its electorate. "Vacant seats have been left for the Socialists, but if they do not want to turn up, these seats can be taken by other parties. The Albanians have an immediate interest in their local government representatives. Voters will therefore chose between 19 or 10 candidates, as many as there are."

Berisha also dwelt on relations with the United States and on the allies of the Democratic Party. For the president, relations with the United States, which seem to have wobbled since the U.S. declarations on the 26 May elections, remain a main keynote of Albanian democracy. "There may be disagreements between the two countries, but the important thing is finding a way to confront them." Berisha denied that he had cancelled a meeting with Wirth. "I merely fixed a date that was to the benefit of the issues we were to discuss," the president said. The existence of the Greek lobby and its influence on policy toward Albania has been wrongly interpreted. "Every lobby has its extremists," Berisha explained.

Albania: Berisha Says PS Needs 'Genuine Reformers'

AU2208132696 Tirana ATA in English 1732 GMT 21 Aug 96

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Tirana, August 21 (ATA)—In today's news conference, the President of Albania Sali Berisha appreciated the program of the government which aims at realising the economic objectives of the Democratic Party [PD].

He stressed that the government promoted the reform with its program, it lifted the state control on the prices, and is preparing for a new stage of privatization, in which the privatization in the banking system is another important moment. Berisha also appreciated the ratification by the parliament of two conventions: one on the human rights defence and the other on the prevention of tortures and maltreatments. The president replied to the questions on the coming local elections and other political developments.

Berisha pointed out that the Decree on the Election Commission was not a challenge for the left wing parties "because I invited these parties in the talks on the Election Commission. I left their seats vacant in the Election Commission. The objective of the decree is the creation of a permanent commission after the experience of other Western countries." Berisha said that "I appreciate the process of reformation that the Socialist Party [PS] started because a moderate left wing is vital for the development of democracy. Albania in this case is not an exception as compared with other countries of Europe."

Focusing on the question of the PS reformation, President Berisha said that it needs genuine reformers and not those who were blessed by Ramiz Alia. The dictatorship of Alia in 1991 was more savage than that of 1989, the time when the criminals took to streets to kill, destruct, and set things on fire. "The power holders of that time should apologize to the people for the military putsch in the Officers United School and the Shkoder city massacre. The process of reformation underway in the PS is proving to be a great disillusionment," said Berisha. "The class struggle in the PS fold," said Berisha, "reached its fiercest point, the struggle among clans. This struggle, as an expression of the class struggle, is showing that PS cannot be reformed. On August 24, the Albanians will see Pellumbi as a little Khrushchev, hence he will do what Nikita Khrushchev did for the Russians in 1956. Anyhow, better late than never. In the final say, Albanian Stalinism will be punished."

President Berisha pointed out that the PS conferences in the districts have criticised the PS boycott of the counting of ballots in the May 26 elections, as an act of the greatest infidelity of a political force towards its electorate. Precisely this reason has made the electorate and members of the Socialist Party turn their back to the this party.

Asked of his opinion about PS's taking part or not in the local elections, President Berisha said that "the signs show that PS is going towards another boycott." Berisha considered the boycott as a phenomenon without future "which will carry PS to a self-sacrifice, to a defeat." Further on Berisha said that nothing has changed in the allies of PD, which continues to be a pro-Western force. Berisha pointed out that the relations with the U.S. and their prosperity is rather good.

Regarding Kosova, Berisha considered as very important the establishment of the U.S. Information Office in Prishtina [Pristina]. "I am convinced that the dialogue in the presence of a third party is a wayout and the efforts to extremely deteriorate the situation in Kosova through the explosion of bombs are an attempt by the extreme circles of Seselj and Arkan." Further on Berisha spoke on some questions of the fight against crime, the housing question, employment, and seasonal emigration.

Albania: Shehu Appoints New Deputy Foreign Minister

AU2208130096 Tirana ATA in English 1727 GMT 21 Aug 96

[Report by Fatos Vladi]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Tirana, August 21 (ATA)—Albanian Foreign Minister Tritan Shehu has appointed Albert Ferit Rakipi as deputy foreign minister of Albania.

Sources from the Foreign Ministry told ATA that the appointment of Rakipi to the post of the deputy foreign minister along with the other Deputy Foreign Minister Arjan Starova is made in the context of the restructuring of the Foreign Ministry.

Albert Rakipi was born in 1962 in Erseke of Kolonje, southeast Albania. He has graduated the Faculty of History-Philology of the Tirana University. In 1993-1994 Rakipi finished studies in the diplomatic Academy of the Mediterranean (Malta) and received the title Master in Diplomacy.

Before becoming a diplomat, Rakipi has been a teacher of literature, editor-in-chief of ALTERNATIVA SD and deputy director of the Press Department in the Foreign Affairs Ministry.

In 1995-1996, Rakipi has been working in the Department on Europe in the Foreign Ministry. Rakipi is a member of none of the parties.

Rakipi has published an artistic book and many articles on international relations and policies.

Albania: New Deputy Foreign Minister Rakipi Profiled

AU2208203496 Tirana REPUBLIKA in Albanian 22 Aug 96 p 1

[Unattributed report: "A New Deputy to the Albanian Foreign Minister"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Foreign Minister Tritan Shehu has appointed Albert Ferit Rakipi as deputy foreign minister. Foreign Ministry sources say that Rakipi's appointment as deputy minister alongside Deputy Foreign Minister Arjan Starova is part of the restructuring of the Foreign Ministry. Albert Rakipi was born in 1962 in Erseke in Kolonje District. He is a graduate of the Faculty of History and Philology at Tirana University. In 1993-94 he studied at the Mediterranean Diplomatic Academy in Malta and received a master's degree in diplomacy. Between 1987 and 1989 Rakipi was a teacher of language and literature at Fushe Arrez in Puke District. Between 1991 and 1992, he was editor in chief of ALTERNATIVA SD and from 1993 to 1995 deputy director of the Press Directorate at the Foreign Ministry. Rakipi is not a member of any political party. The new deputy foreign minister has published a book and has written many articles about politics and international relations.

Albania: Foreign Ministry Official Views Relations With Greece

AU2208203096 Tirana ALBANIA in Albanian 22 Aug 96 p 2

[Unattributed interview with Eqerem Meta, director of the Foreign Ministry's Balkan Directorate; place and date not given: "Fair Wind in Albanian-Greek Relations"]

[FBIS Translated Text] [ALBANIA] As has been reported, the Greek foreign minister will visit Albania on 31 August. Can you tell us anything more about the planned visit of Foreign Minister Theodhoros Pangalos to our country?

[Meta] The idea of a visit to Albania by Foreign Minister Pangalos came from the Greek side, and the visit will involve meetings with senior Albanian personalities. Foreign Minister Pangalos will be present at the inauguration of the new building of the Greek Consulate at Gjirokaster and will have meetings with Tritan Shehu, Albanian foreign minister and deputy prime minister, as well as with President Sali Berisha at Vlore.

[ALBANIA] What is expected from this visit and what are the most urgent problems that require settlement?

[Meta] As I stressed above, both sides are using the opportunity offered by the ceremony at Gjirokaster and will of course meet to exchange their views on bilateral relations and the opportunities to create and further strengthen them, as well as other issues that affect the Balkans and beyond. Relations between Albania and Greece have started out well and it appears that both governments are bent on strengthening them and, as they have said, making them a model of good-neighborliness by solving or helping toward a solution to all those problems that exist between our two countries. If we judge from recent events, especially after the arrival of Prime Minister Kostas Simitis to power in Greece, the visit of the Greek president to Tirana, and the signature of a Treaty of Friendship and Cooperation between our two countries this year, I can say that the Albanian side, always in the spirit of the treaty, has taken concrete steps that embody Albania's desire and goodwill for the best possible relations with the Greek state.

However, there are also signs from the Greek side that show the existence of similar goodwill and a similar desire. It is expected that the agreement on seasonal employment signed by the foreign ministers of both countries in May will soon be implemented, of course after it is signed by the Greek interior minister and approved by the parliament. It is hoped that the Greek side will complete this procedure as soon as possible. As one of the signs of goodwill coming from the Greek side, it is expected that a settlement for the status of Albanian migrants will be found. Greek officials have said that this will be regulated by a Greek parliamentary bill on foreign immigration.

The two countries will also soon start to implement the conclusions of the meeting of the Joint Subcommission on Border Protection held in Athens in June this year. We are merely awaiting the reply from the Greek side about the date for the meeting of the group of experts and commission chairmen from both sides, so that work on the ground can start as soon as possible.

[ALBANIA] How do you envisage bilateral relations in the near future?

[Meta] The visit by Foreign Minister Pangalos is one event in the near future. Border issues, the implementation of the agreement on seasonal employment, and the regulation of the status of Albanian migrants in Greece, which I talked about earlier, are also matters for the future, we hope the near future. Work is also continuing to open new border crossing points and to build the infrastructure they need. Although we have no confirmation from the Greek side, we have learned that Greek Prime Minister Simitis will also visit Albania as part of his Balkan tour. These current and future events will of course strengthen our bilateral relations, which we cannot remove from their regional context, because good relations between our two countries are also an important help to the Albanian and Greek Governments in their work for peace and stability in southeastern Europe.

Bulgaria: FYROM Ambassador Views 'Unresolved' Issues

AU2208140996 Sofia STANDART NEWS in Bulgarian 22 Aug 96 p 9

[Interview with Georgi Spasov, FYROM Ambassador to Sofia, by Lyudmila Zasheva; place and date not given: "End of Suitcase Trade Will Not Spoil Relations With Bulgaria"]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] [Passage omitted] [Zasheva] A few days ago, Ljubomir Frckovski, the foreign minister of Macedonia [The Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia—FYROM], announced that Skopje has no intention of relinquishing its constitutional name and rejects any compromises on this issue. Does this not mean a step back in your relations with Greece, and indeed with the entire world?

[Spasov] You know that an agreement on issues of bilateral interest was reached with Greece in New York. We only have to bridge over some differences that spring from the positions regarding the name. We adhere to our constitutional name. What Mr. Frckovski said means that we have understanding for our people's sensitivity regarding the observance of our Constitution and national interests. [passage omitted]

[Zasheva] Do you not apply a selective approach—at certain forums, you agree to be called FYROM and at other you do not?

[Spasov] If you mean the Balkan meeting in Sofia—it is a completely different matter. We appear as FYROM only at forums organized by the United Nations. At any other bilateral or multilateral meeting, the issue is decided with the host country. I will tell you something that perhaps is not well known: When we have meetings with Greece in Skopje, we use only the names of the delegations' leaders and the flags. Greece has nothing against it.

As far as the Balkan meeting is concerned, we sent letters both to your foreign minister and your government and stressed that Bulgaria should clearly formulate its position on Macedonia's form of participation. First it was believed that Macedonia could participate under its constitutional name, because most of the participants agreed.

[Zasheva] Could you be more specific?

[Spasov] Bulgaria, Yugoslavia, Croatia, Slovenia, and Bosnia agreed to it. When we add to them Macedonia itself—you have two-thirds of the participants who accepted the name. Bulgaria sought a compromise and proposed that the delegations' nameplates would only bear the names of the foreign ministers rather than the countries—precisely what Greece accepts in our bilateral relations. Macedonia, willing to help Bulgaria and not hinder the meeting, agreed. However, on the day when the political directors were supposed to meet in Sofia and clarify all issues, the Greek delegation suddenly issued an ultimatum—it would not participate in the conference if the nameplate in front of our delegation did not read "Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia."

[Zasheva] In other words, you think that Bulgaria took the side of Greece and ignored the international requirements?

[Spasov] Of course. There was no reason to apply the international practice to this conference. As the host country, Bulgaria could impose a solution that would have been in the interests of all participants. Macedonia demonstrated good will and took part in all preliminary meetings. Finally, the fact that Greece participated and we did not was the result of a Bulgarian decision. This is why Pangalos addressed [Foreign Minister] Pirinski as "Mr. President." This was a sign of gratitude for Bulgaria's position, which sided with Greece.

[Zasheva] There is another unresolved issue. More than 20 agreements between the two countries have been waiting for three years because of the language problem. Do you not think that compromises in politics are an important condition for protecting peace?

[Spasov] Indeed, compromises are an important factor, and I think that, with its policy in the Balkans, Macedonia demonstrated that it can maintain good relations with Serbia, Albania, Greece, and Bulgaria through compromises. Yes, there are unresolved issues and they do complicate relations between our countries. One of them is the unsigned treaties. As an ambassador, I have always said that I would be happy if a solution would be found that could facilitate the signing of the agreements. The Bulgarian politicians publicly declare that they will not accept the signing of the agreements in the Bulgarian and Macedonian languages and propose the formula "the official languages of the two countries." [passage omitted]

[Zasheva] Recently, one has noted an improvement in your relations with Yugoslavia at the expense of Bulgaria. There are reports according to which the passport regime between the two countries is being alleviated. Simultaneously, it became known recently that Macedonian is stopping the so-called suitcase trade with Bulgaria.

[Spasov] I think that you cannot infer that relations with Bulgaria will be negatively affected by stopping the suitcase trade. Every country has the right to organize its market on its territory in accordance with its uniform tax policy. The measure is directed against those who illegally import goods into our country. We aim to place them under a stricter regime than those who have a legal business in Macedonia and regularly pay their taxes, fees, and customs. I think that you are wrong in thinking that Macedonia is causing a deterioration in relations with Bulgaria. An erroneous thesis is being disseminated in Bulgaria, namely, that Macedonia does not accept any Bulgarian proposals for two reasons. The first—Macedonia is supposedly afraid of coming closer to Bulgaria because of its concern with waking up the Bulgarian self-awareness in Macedonia. The second—that some Serbian Communists are ruling our country and working for a Serbian cause: to bring Macedonia back into Yugoslavia. I think that this thesis is only used to justify what the two countries are not doing to improve relations.

Yugoslavia made a great step forward by recognizing us under the name the Republic of Macedonia. It recognizes both the nation and the language—all our treaties with them are signed in Serbian and Macedonian. All laws for the protection of the Serbian minority in Macedonia and the Macedonian minority in Serbia have been adopted. Thus, Macedonia is not neglecting one Balkan state at the expense of another. We have always demonstrated that we want equally good relations with Bulgaria, Serbia, Albania, and Greece. [passage omitted]

Bulgaria: Country's Position Between NATO, Russia

AU2208135396 Sofia SEGA in Bulgarian 22-28 Aug 96 pp 22-23

[Article by Ivo Indzhev: "Bulgarian Sandwich"]

[FBIS Translated Text] A Big Mac could satisfy the hunger of the hungry, but the sesame roll is worth nothing without the famous hamburger. In culinary matters, precisely as in politics, the value of the hamburger is constantly increasing.

Could Bulgaria stick itself into a Russian-U.S. sandwich? What would the cost be? The UK's secretary of state for defense, Michael Portillo, tried to answer those questions during his visit to Bulgaria at the end of July: "Bulgaria must utilize its special relations with Moscow in order to become a bridge between Russia and NATO," Portillo said in his Atlantic lecture in the Sheraton, and explained: Our country could implement a mediating mission both outside NATO's framework and as a member of the organization. Portillo added the second part only because of his sense of diplomacy. He knows very well that Bulgaria is the only former East European socialist country that has not declared clearly that it wants to join NATO.

At the cocktail reception after the lecture, the wisecrackers said that the highranking guest gave a new meaning to the concept "neutrality," and replaced it with "friendly bridge." Naturally, they all remembered the rather different role that Willy Claes assigned to Bulgaria in NATO's eastward expansion. In an interview for a Sofia weekly, the former NATO chief said that the issue of Bulgaria's neutrality is reasonable. "NATO would greet and respect such a decision and is prepared to sign a nonagression pact." This sentence inspired some amorphous formations supporting neutrality that emerged in Bulgaria.

The heat of August put to sleep the hot debate in Bulgaria "for" or "against" NATO. At the end of September and the beginning of October, however, a new round of intensified dialogue between Bulgaria and NATO is supposed to take place. Plamen Bochev, in charge of relations with NATO at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, told SEGA that "issues regarding the planning of defense and the state of the Armed Forces will be discussed." In December, NATO's Foreign Ministers Council will convene to discuss the list of 14 countries that are participating in the intensified dialogue with the pact. It is expected that those who "excelled" in the dialogue would be invited next year to NATO's summit to begin talks on membership. Those will be Poland, Hungary, and the Czech Republic—the excellent students with A grades. Bulgaria will have to do with a B grade.

In the last two years, the Bulgarian Socialist Party [BSP] and its government have deliberately refrained from showing too much ability in the North Atlantic Integration course. However, with the acceleration of NATO's eastward expansion, Bulgaria obtained the chance of playing a special role, which it could implement without committing itself to full-fledged membership in the organization. Strange as it may seem, the events seem to work in our favor.

Last week, U.S. Secretary of State Warren Christopher said that, after the presidential elections in Russia, he expects a calmer dialogue between NATO and Russia, which will take place parallel to NATO's expansion. Simultaneously, statements by Russian leaders imply that Moscow will not agree to NATO's aircraft and tanks being in dangerous proximity to its border. In a recent interview for LE FIGARO, Foreign Minister Primakov said that Moscow opposes NATO's eastward expansion even if it is given guarantees that the new military structures will not be deployed around the Russian borders.

An influential BSP deputy told SEGA that "Bulgaria is facing an equation with many unknown factors, and it must try to solve it by activating its relations both both NATO and Russia." "Our country must utilize the dividends it has in the ping-pong game with Moscow and Brussels," the deputy said. According to him, Videnov's cabinet does not lean toward either of the two poles, nor does it decisively reject them. It has distanced itself to a certain degree from the Russian attempts to issue a power-supply dictate regarding the Topenergy megaproject. Simultaneously, Videnov's cabinet is the only eastern European government that does not request rapid admission to NATO. This "dual game" could increase Bulgaria's price against the background of its geostrategic location.

In the spring, Russian President Yeltsin half-jokingly, but half-seriously, invited us to join USSR-2. Shortly before that, Russian Foreign Minister Primakov reminded our foreign minister of the "special relations" between the two countries. The Bulgarian Government reacted to Yeltsin's invitation with obvious irritation. This did not prevent us from witnessing the "special" relations in action in July, when Bulgaria was the only eastern European country to receive 100 T-72 Russian tanks and 100 combat vehicles for the Ground Forces free of charge.

Simultaneously, Sofia also got some points with NATO. Against the background of Greek-Turkish relations, which constantly play havoc with the nerves of NATO's diplomats and generals, we succeeded in convening in Sofia the foreign ministers of almost all Balkan countries at a meeting dealing with security, cooperation, and stability. In the fall, the Balkan countries' defense ministers will sit at another "roundtable" in Sofia. In addition, NATO's generals had a high regard for the participation of the Bulgarian military units in the Partnership for Peace maneuvers, in which we excelled.

Bulgaria also has other assets that Russia and NATO must appreciate: Our country is an island of stability among the Muslim and Christian countries that surround it, despite the constant attempts to "register" it in a Muslim arc or a Christian axis.

"Despite the fact that, at present, Bulgaria's foreign policy smells of an undeclared neutrality, especially against the background of NATO's eastward expansion—a process that has already begun—such a neutrality has no chance," General (retired) Stoyan Andreev told SEGA. However, he thinks that "such a policy is a universal brick that we could use in any foreign policy construction. Neutrality, NATO membership, and remaining outside NATO all contribute to not allowing a commitment on the part of our country to the United States and Russia and to staying away from any eastern Orthodox axis or Muslim arc in the Balkans."

Bulgaria: Zhelev, Army Chiefs Agree on Appointments

AU2308120296 Sofia KONTINENT in Bulgarian 23 Aug 96 pp 1, 3

[Article by Yovka Dimitrova: "Peace Regarding Army Concluded in Grozden"]

[FBIS Translated Text] President Zhelev will sign the decrees for all 11 generals and colonels proposed by the cabinet on 22 August.

The peace was concluded on 22 August in Grozden where the president is vacationing. The supreme commander in chief was visited by Defense Minister Dimitur Pavlov, who officially is on leave until Monday [26 August], and by Army General Staff Chief Tsvetan Totomirov. The talk was attended by General Stefan Dimitrov, head of President Zhelev's military office.

The supreme commander in chief agreed to sign the decrees after the Defense Ministry retreated from the demand to expand the Inspectorate.

The only one, about whom apparently no agreement has been reached, is the military intelligence chief, General Angel Katsarov, who was supposed to become deputy chief of the Inspectorate.

General Angel Angelov, who was proposed as Military Academy chief, will become head of the Inspectorate Staff. General Kiril Ermenkov, who was proposed earlier to this post, will remain in the Military Academy.

General Angel Marin, who was supposed to become chief inspector of the ground troops, remains chief of the "Missile Troops and Artillery" Administration, but only for one additional year, because he will study at the Military Academy's General Staff Faculty. General Lyuben Pandev also did not receive the presidential approval as head of the Defense Ministry Cadres Department, and will serve for one year as human rights inspector, because he will also study.

Bulgaria: Zhelev Statement on BZNS, Elections Agreement

AU2308100996 Sofia Khorizont Radio Network in Bulgarian 0900 GMT 23 Aug 96

[FBIS Translated Text] The Press Center of Bulgarian President Zhelyu Zhelev disseminated a statement of the head of staff on the developments in the Bulgarian National Agrarian Union [BZNS], which reads:

I have never permitted myself to interfere in the internal political life of any political party or coalition. However, what is happening in the BZNS is directly affecting me.

Further on, the president points out that the political agreement on presenting a uniform candidate of the united opposition at the coming presidential elections was signed by specific persons, and along with the signature of the president is also the signature of Mrs. Anastasiya Mozer as BZNS chief secretary and People's Union cochairman. Therefore, the statement reads, the possible ouster of Mrs. Mozer from the post of BZNS chief secretary, and at that done in her absence like a coup, would mean for me that one of those who signed the agreement is no longer participating in the political life. Thus the agreement would hang in the air and no longer be binding. It would become invalid, the statement of the head of state points out.

The statement also expresses concern over the actual disintegration of the People's Union.

Bulgaria: Nuclear Committee Chief Reportedly Dismissed

AU2308101396 Sofia 24 CHASA in Bulgarian 23 Aug 96 p 1

[Staff report: "Nuclear Committee Chief Fired"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Reliable sources report that on 22 August Yanko Yanev, chief of the Committee on Peaceful Use of Nuclear Energy, was fired. Yanev's dismissal was personally signed by Prime Minister Videnov. Energy Minister Rumen Ovcharov personally presented the new chief of the committee—Luchezar Kostov. Kostov is a former deputy chief of the Bulgarian Socialist Party's Sofia City Organization. One month ago Yanev was asked to resign, but he refused to do so.

Czech Republic: Klaus on Problems in Compiling State Budget

AU2208134096 Prague LIDOVE NOVINY in Czech 22 Aug 96 p 12

[Interview with Czech Prime Minister Vaclav Klaus by Ladislav Jakl; place and date not given: "At the Moment, a Struggle Is Taking Place in the Government"]

[FBIS Translated Text] [Jakl] Given the current configuration of forces in parliament, what will the government's approach to the budget be? Are you ready to make any more major compromises so that the government survives?

[Klaus] No. I have to say that the budget is being compiled as it is every year and that, at the moment, there is still no definitive date for parliament's approval of it. Unfortunately, we are not there yet. I am still at the stage of tackling the budget at the government level, in essence, attempting to reconcile the irreconcilable—that means the demands of the individual ministers. The moment has not yet come when I would look at the composition of parliament.

[Jakl] What has to be done to discipline the departments when they hold out their palms?

[Klaus] I have to admit that I am going through this stage for the eighth time; I have been through it three times as finance minister, and I am going through it for the fifth time as prime minister. It is natural and logical that every office asks for the biggest budget possible. The issue now involves finding the solution through a sensible compromise and that is hard, everyday, painstaking, patient work. There is no general ideational manual for this.

[Jakl] However, this year, not only is the political configuration different, which affects the starting conditions for formulating the budget, but the economic conditions are also different. There is no longer such a surplus cushion. Is this a factor that has to be taken into consideration in compiling the new budget?

[Klaus] No one believed us last year when we said that we were compiling a balanced budget and that the adopted tax adjustments would begin to function a year later and were very significant. Everyone thought we were again hiding something in the budget, and this led to a great many considerations in the spring on the further possibility of reducing taxes somehow or other without reducing expenditure. It seems that this year's budget is very tight, and I understand that the finance minister wants to cross out the expenditure side of the 1996 budget. So, the first major budget battle in the government will not be about the 1997 budget, but about the remainder of the 1996 budget.

[Jakl] Will even greater circumspection follow on from this for you in considering the proposal to cut taxes that is supposed to come onto the agenda in the fall?

[Klaus] Certainly, in any case. It is not necessary to add anything to this.

Slovakia: SDL's Weiss on Result of Delay in Joining NATO, EU

AU2208150396 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 22 Aug 96 p 12

[Interview with Peter Weiss, deputy chairman of the Party of the Democratic Left, by Jan Skoda; place and date not given: "Lobbying and Real Changes Are Needed"]

[FBIS Translated Text] [Skoda] Everything seems to indicate that Slovakia is dropping out of the first group of candidates for NATO and EU entry, even if it needs to be said that, officially, no such decision has yet been made. Does the government of Vladimir Meciar still have a chance to reverse this negative trend?

[Weiss] First and foremost, the government should stop taking our situation lightly. Its reaction must be professional. If the coalition does not come to its senses, it will lose the chance to fulfill its own policy statement. Lobbying for the Slovak Republic can be successful only when a clear signal about changes comes from Slovakia—at the September meeting of parliament. The first decision on NATO's enlargement is to be made as early as this December. The government majority should demonstrate the political will to reconsider the philosophy that resulted in the long parliamentary night of November 1994. It should reconsider the practice of "steamrollering" the opposition and labeling those who think differently enemies of Slovakia.

[Skoda] Let us imagine the situation that Slovakia does not get into NATO and the EU in the first wave. What could be the consequence for us of the fact that Hungary, for instance, will one day codecide, already as a regular member of these organizations, about Slovakia's euro-atlantic future?

[Weiss] The Movement for a Democratic Slovakia and the Slovak National Party boast of having contributed to the inception of Slovak statehood. If they do not come to their senses, they will enter history as those who led this statehood into political isolation. It would be strange for our people, also from the psychological viewpoint, if decisions on the Slovak Republic were to be made by Hungary, the Czech Republic, and Poland—that is, countries that had the same starting position with us. The economic and social situation in the Slovak Republic would deteriorate, also due to the fact that the above three countries produce merchandise that is similar to ours and will export this merchandise to EU markets under preferential customs conditions, compared with the Slovak Republic. Not only would our exports to EU countries be affected, but also foreign capital, which we need badly for the modernization of production, will not be "pushing" to get here if the Slovak Republic does not have a clear prospect of becoming part of the Common Market. There are also other considerations: The young generation's chances, the movement of labor, the opportunities to study, and Slovak national pride and self-confidence would all be affected.

[Skoda] How can the Common Choice help reverse this situation, which is unfavorable for Slovakia?

[Weiss] As far as the Party of the Democratic Left [SDL] is concerned, we were lobbying in the parties of the Socialist International [SI] already when the Slovak Republic's admission into the Council of Europe was at issue. At a recent meeting of the SI Committee for Central and East Europe, it was clearly said that these parties are opposed to Slovakia's isolation. The only effect of the Slovak Republic's isolation would be the strengthening of nationalistic forces and authoritarian methods of government in Slovakia. No lobbying can be successful if it is not accompanied by steps in internal policy. This is why we endorsed the initiative of the Social Democratic Party of Slovakia [SDSS] for roundtable talks among all parliamentary parties, and for a joint course of action in improving the Slovak Republic's position in the process of integration. Unfortunately, it is precisely the coalition parties that are not interested in such talks. Initiative should also be displayed by large companies because, if the Slovak Republic is put at a competitive disadvantage, they will be the ones to suffer direct damage.

Slovakia: Printing Plant for Most Dailies Privatized

AU2208122996

[FBIS Report] Bratislava NARODNA OBRODA in Slovak on 21 August on page 5, under the "Topic of the Day" rubric, devotes three articles to the privatization of the Danubiaprint state enterprise, in which 80 percent of Slovak daily newspapers (including NARODNA OBRODA, PRAVDA, PRACA, NOVY CAS, HOSPODARSKE NOVINY, and SLOVENSKA REPUBLIKA) are printed. The decision on the privatization of Danubiaprint and 40 other state-owned companies was made by the National Property Fund (FNM) Presidium on 1 August 1996. The three articles (600, 1,000, and 1,400 words) are not attributed, but all of the NARODNA OBRODA "material" is said to have been "prepared by Vladimir Bacisin."

Two of the three articles deal with previous attempts to privatize Danubiaprint, which was founded on 1 July 1990 as a successor to the Communist Party-owned "PRAVDA press combine," and with the political controversies that accompanied these attempts.

As NARODNA OBRODA recalls, the Slovak Government first discussed the privatization of Danubiaprint on 26 May 1992, when the then Carnogursky-led government approved the privatization project of the Bratislava-based Ister Ltd. Ivan Miklos, then privatization minister, justified the decision by the "poor economic situation of Danubiaprint, caused by incompetent management," and argued that "private ownership is a guarantee against the political abuse" of the company's "monopoly position in printing dailies." In conjunction with the planned privatization, Jan Holcik, then minister of industry, also "recalled" Stanislav Srnik from the post of Danubiaprint director.

When Vladimir Meciar's second cabinet replaced the Carnogursky cabinet after the June 1992 elections, one of the first decisions of the new minister of industry, Ludovit Cernak, was to reinstate Stanislav Srnik as Danubiaprint director (6 July 1992). Soon after, on 21 July 1992, the government "abolished the previous government's decision on the sale of Danubiaprint." Lubomir Dolgos, privatization minister in the then Meciar government, declared that the government considered the control over Danubiaprint to be a "political problem" and that the printing company would remain in state ownership. According to NARODNA OBRODA, Minister Dolgos denied at that time that the government's decision amounted to the "retroactive expropriation of private property" and argued that "the conservation of a press monopoly in private hands is dangerous for democracy" and that "a state monopoly is better than a private monopoly because it can be regulated." NARODNA OBRODA recalls that, under Meciar's second government, the privatization of Danubiaprint was opposed also by other Movement for a Democratic Slovakia (HZDS) officials. Ivan Mjartan, then deputy minister of culture, is quoted as having said in 1992 that "the establishment of a single publishing monopoly, though a private one, could damage the objectivity of the press and its being above party affairs," and Ivan Lexa, who was at that time state secretary at the Ministry of Privatization, reportedly warned that, because Danubiaprint publishes 80 percent of daily newspapers in Slovakia, "he who acquires Danubiaprint could liquidate newspapers he does not fancy."

The last of the three NARODNA OBRODA articles is devoted to the latest developments in the privatization of Danubiaprint. It opens by saying: "On 1 August, the FNM Presidium decided on the privatization of the Danubiaprint Bratislava state enterprise. The property of the state enterprise will be acquired by the Dunajske Tlaciarne [Danube Printing Plant] joint-stock company, with a seat in Bratislava. The founder of the Dunajske Tlaciarne joint-stock company is Danubia Ltd., which was set up by Danubiaprint managers in 1991 with a view to privatizing the state enterprise.

"The focus of activities of the Dunajske Tlaciarne joint-stock company lies in printing, publishing activity, retail and wholesale, trade mediation, and advertising. The company's basic capital amounts to 1 million Slovak korunas [Sk]. It is divided into 100 bearer shares, with a nominal value of Sk10,000 per share. Chairman of the Dunajske Tlaciarne Board of Directors is Stanislav Srnik, previously director of the Danubiaprint state enterprise. Members of the Board of Directors are Jan Ondrus and Anton Schindler. Chairman of the Supervisory Board is Ondrej Kadak, and its members are Lubomir Kubik and Stefan Mistrik.

"NARODNA OBRODA has not managed to learn the price for which the FNM sold the property of the Danubiaprint state enterprise to the Dunajske Tlaciarne joint-stock company."

The article goes on to emphasize Danubiaprint's important role in the industry: "The Danubiaprint state enterprise has a dominant position in printing daily newspapers. It prints 10 national and regional dailies—NARODNA OBRODA, PRAVDA, NOVY CAS, PRACA, SPORT, HOSPODARSKE NOVINY, SLOVENSKA REPUBLIKA, HLAS LUDU, UJ SZO, and VECERNIK. In addition, Danubiaprint prints weeklies, biweeklies, monthlies, advertising newspapers, and periodicals published by district and municipal authorities. The state enterprise also comprises the Danubiapress publishing house, which publishes the weekly INTERNATIONAL EXPRESS." According to the article, Danubiaprint also prints advertising brochures, catalogues, and books, mostly for the German and Russian markets.

In the subsequent part of the article, NARODNA OBRODA quotes Director Srnik on the new owners' plans with the company. Srnik says that, in 1994, 90 percent of the plant and equipment were written off, which forces the company to invest heavily in the modernization of its capacities. The article continues: "The first stage of modernization was implemented in 1994. In 1995, a new rotary printing machine for newspapers of the Geoman Man Rolland brand was installed in Danubiaprint and supplemented with equipment for advertising inserts. According to Stanislav Srnik, 25 percent of the machinery and equipment for the production of newspapers has been renewed to date. Another 10 percent will be renewed in late 1996/early 1997. Roughly another 30 percent of production capacities should be renewed, according to the company's plans, by 1998/99, and all production capacities should be renewed by the year 2002." As Srnik explains, printing-industry equipment tends to be replaced every 20 years. The modernization project is said to comprise the "complete computerization of the production process" for the periodical press and the expansion of capacities for the production of books, especially for the Russian market. Srnik says that, after the expansion of production, the company also plans to increase the number of employees (at present Danubiaprint reportedly employs 720 people, who earn an average of more than Sk12,000 per month).

In conclusion, Srnik is asked about the possibility of employees' involvement in the company's privatization. He concedes the possibility of employees receiving company shares but says that this step must be preceded by talks with employees' representatives. He also believes that not all employees should be automatically entitled to company shares but that their claim should depend on "certain criteria" such as "the employee's quality and duration of employment."

Hungary: FIDESZ Official on Opposition Cooperation Prospects

AU2208152396 Budapest MAGYAR NEMZET in Hungarian 17 Aug 96 p 5

[Interview with FIDESZ Deputy Chairman Tamas Deutsch by Frigyes Varju; place and date not given: "The Time Has Come To Restructure the Balance of Political Forces"]

[FBIS Translated Text] [Varju] The chairman of the Hungarian Justice and Life Party [MIEP] recently brought up the need for the national and Christian forces to cooperate and unite and present a common candidate for the position of prime minister. What is the opinion of the Federation of Young Democrats [FIDESZ] about this scenario?

[Deutsch] The idea itself does not merit too many words; at the same time, at least two issues worth noticing are behind this phenomenon. One of these is the situation of the Independent Smallholders' Party [FKGP]. In my view, the party's rally on 14 March was not merely an unfortunate and unsuccessful event in the wake of which the FKGP lost a lot from its growing popularity; instead, the FKGP political strategy—formulated after the 1994 parliamentary elections—failed on 14 March. Otherwise, this increasingly radical strategy, drawing an increasingly high wall between the moderate center right and itself, would have continued, a strategy that claimed that the social bitterness prevailing in Hungary since 1990 would change course, and an increasing number of people would follow political factors engaged in increasingly tough political activity. The aforementioned date of 14 March was the end of this political strategy. All this proved that there are no social conditions for such a strategy and that it is impossible to reach the zenith of a political strategy two years before general elections. The FKGP policy has changed in the meantime, and it now shows a cautious turn toward a more moderate and calm political style. They no longer present themselves in the radical right wing, and they think that there are other center-right parties between them and the center left, but they do not want to go further to the right. This is a really noteworthy change in the FKGP policy.

[Varju] What is your opinion about a Csurka-Torgyan cooperation? Are there any chances for such a cooperation?

[Deutsch] One should not forget that since the sole joint Torgyan-Csurka stand prior to the 1994 elections, Jozsef Torgyan has been trying very firmly to distance itself from Istvan Csurka and his MIEP. Of course, this could not hinder the comprehensive electoral cooperation between the two parties. The latest Torgyan rejection of Csurka's proposal is also part of the fact that, at a public level, Torgyan distances himself from Csurka on symbolic issues. At the same time, regarding the content, this was the first time in many years that Torgyan declared that there are differences between the place, role, and strategy of the extreme right and the right wing.

[Varju] Is it possible that the Smallholders, who are now moving toward the center, are hurrying toward the camp of moderate center-right parties?

[Deutsch] No. The FKGP decided in 1994 to take an independent path and, even if it succeeds in gathering subordinate political players, it is not willing to form equal-right alliances. The FKGP has not changed this concept: It continues to advance on an independent road today. However, a way of thinking has gained ground within the FKGP, a thinking that takes into consideration the fact that the party will not be able to win in 1998 despite its relatively good election results, and there will be domestic politics and party politics after the next elections, too, and they will have to continue to take into consideration the balance of forces in parliament.

[Varju] Could this changing FKGP mentality affect the cooperation of center-right forces, a cooperation that has been taking shape for some time?

[Deutsch] Definitely not directly. However, the FKGP might realize the importance of placing the government parties under a political salvo, instead of engaging in useless and aimless shooting among opposition parties. As for the future of center-right cooperation, I think this autumn might bring interesting phenomena. In my view, real conditions have emerged for the restructuring of certain power relations. The debate on next year's budget and its implementation will be the last slap in the face of broad social strata. The confidence level of the Alliance of Free Democrats [SZDSZ] has dropped to zero today, and that of the Hungarian Socialist Party [MSZP] is one-fifth of the previous level at best and, in my opinion, this minimal confidence will erode soon. The popularity of the senior government party might drop under 20 percent this autumn.

[Varju] The question is what can the opposition parties do with this?

[Deutsch] Indeed, this is a big question. This autumn will show that the leadership of the three moderate center-right bourgeois parties speak the same language, in a way unprecedented since 1994. They say that opposition solidarity should be replaced by an opposition alliance and closer cooperation! From then on, the question is no longer whether there will be a civil alliance or not. The essence now is when to deepen the electoral cooperation, in addition to program and ideological coordination. In other words, in the autumn of 1996 the question is what kind of cooperation we want, rather than whether we want cooperation or not.

[Varju] This logic presupposes contacts between parties that are equal in everything; however, the leaders of the Hungarian Democratic Forum [MDF] and the Christian Democratic People's Party [KDNP] never missed to stress in their statements that they intend to be the engine of center-right cooperation. Does this affect the relations between the three parties?

[Deutsch] No, and I think that we have already reached a level of mutual confidence in which we can no longer doubt the other's sincere desire for cooperation. But we must finally decide whether to come up with 100 percent common candidates in the framework of electoral cooperation, or to have a smaller percentage.

[Varju] What would the FIDESZ like?

[Deutsch] This issue was discussed at the parties' coordination talks, and so everyone knows how these things are. Although we are not talking about any secrets here, I think it is too early to speak about this publicly. Of course, we can ask questions. What will happen with the common candidates, the common lists, and with the candidate for the position of prime minister and the candidates for list heads? These questions need months of negotiations, so coordination must commence immediately.

[Varju] What is the minimum cooperation level acceptable for FIDESZ, one that would make your party drop its attempt to prepare for the next elections alone?

[Deutsch] Before answering this question, let me remind you of the 1994 elections: We learned from our electoral cooperation with the SZDSZ at that time. There is no sense in a cooperation that is not authentic "outwards." One could see that the sides that cooperated in 1994 were not sides that honestly wanted to cooperate. Therefore, a three-party cooperation must be mutually desirable and authentic. Otherwise, the entire thing is senseless. In the Hungarian electoral system, it is only sensible to have an alliance if it succeeds in presenting common candidates. This is precisely what brought success for the aforementioned three political parties in the local government elections in 1994. As a result, we did not completely disappear from the political palette of hundreds of communities. In the current electoral system, a three times 10 percent achievement is much smaller than a one-time 25-percent achievement. We must accept this. As for our minimal requirements, comprehensive agreement and the basic issues of joint governing, as well as presenting joint candidates in individual electoral districts, are our essential criteria.

[Varju] You kept talking about three-party cooperation, but there are several opposition parties present in parliament. What about them? Could the circle of parties be widened?

[Deutsch] We need mutual wisdom in order to avoid making the issue of the Hungarian Democratic People's Party [MDNP] become the pseudo issue of this autumn. In my view, we must wait for October or November, when the formation activity of the MDNP reaches a limit and we can see what force and organizational level this party represents, when organizational issues become clear, and they are capable of formulating their own ideas on opposition cooperation. Of course, for several reasons, we must also understand the MDF.

[Varju] But the FIDESZ continues to be member of the Liberal International, and those who oppose the conservative alliance keep pointing this out. To what extent is the spirit of each party important in the current state of cooperation?

[Deutsch] It is extremely important, and I reject more firmly any use of the term liberalism as an invective against certain political circles. In my opinion, with the exception of fascism and communism, the use of any other ideological category as an invective is outrageous, including conservatism or social democracy! Ever since its inception, FIDESZ has been a liberal party, and I continue to regard myself as a liberal politician; I can only imagine my future in such a party unless some kind of spiritual tragedy happens in my life.

B-H: Text of Tudjman, Izetbegovic Geneva Statement

AU2208072996 Sarajevo VECERNJE NOVINE (European edition) in Serbo-Croatian 17-18 Aug 96 p 3

[BHP Report: "Full Support for Dayton"]

[FBIS Translated Text] After the completion of the Geneva talks, which were held upon the invitation of U.S. Secretary of State Warren Christopher, Alija Izetbegovic, president of the Presidency of the Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina, and Franjo Tudjman, president of the Republic of Croatia, signed a joint statement confirming their support for the full implementation of the Washington and the Dayton agreements and for the holding of elections in Bosnia-Herzegovina on time. Here is the text of the statement:

"On the basis of the concerted measures adopted in Geneva, which are cited in the Annex, Alija Izetbegovic, president of the Presidency of the Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina, and Franjo Tudjman, president of the Republic of Croatia, following the meeting held upon the invitation of U.S. Secretary of State Warren Christopher in Geneva on 14 August 1996, hereby confirm as follows:

"We again confirm our full support for the implementation of the Dayton peace agreement and the strengthening and advancement of the Federation as the foundation of the peace process.

"We maintain that the holding of the elections on 14 September is the basic precondition for the establishment of the political constitution that could invigorate long-term peace and stability in Bosnia-Herzegovina and we confirm our intention to do everything we can to provide the best possible conditions for the upcoming elections.

"With the aim of strengthening the Federation on the basis of the Washington and the Dayton agreements, we encourage and express our full support for the adoption of the 'Concerted Measures,' which are cited in the Annex, and express our commitment to their implementation.

"The 'Concerted Measures' will be signed in Sarajevo officially by the president and the vice president of the Federation of Bosnia-Herzegovina and by the prime minister of Bosnia-Herzegovina.

"It was also agreed that the steps necessary for the dissolution of the institution of 'the Croatian Republic of Herzeg-Bosnia' should to be taken urgently, and that these functions should be ceded to the appropriate ministries of the Federation of Bosnia-Herzegovina. It was agreed that the corresponding functions of Bosnia-Herzegovina will be at the same time ceded to the institutions of the Federation in line with the Dayton agreement, its appropriate annexes, and the Constitutions of Bosnia-Herzegovina and the Federation of Bosnia-Herzegovina.

"In line with the Dayton General Framework Agreement and the Agreement on the Federation of 10 November 1995, the administrative constitution on the territory of the Federation under the HVO [Croatian Defense Council] supervision will cease to exist beginning with 31 August 1996. The dissolution of special institutions will be performed in line with the Annex to the 'Concerted Measures.'

"The functions of the institution of the government of Bosnia-Herzegovina that are not included in the powers defined by the Constitution of Bosnia-Herzegovina will be ceded to the Federation of Bosnia-Herzegovina or dissolved in an appropriate way."

B-H: Izetbegovic Optimistic About Bosnia's Survival

LD2208212096 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 2000 GMT 22 Aug 96

[FBIS Translated Text] Alija Izetbegovic, the president of the Presidency of the Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina, told SLOBODNA BOSNA [FREE BOSNIA] that the idea of Bosnia will survive in spite of powerful attempts to divide Bosnia.

President Izetbegovic gave author Abdulah Sidran three reasons for his optimism regarding the future of Bosnia-Herzegovina:

The first is the proven strength of our people.

The second—Serbia, which will be weak for a long time, Serbia that will be incapable of becoming involved in a 1992-like adventure.

And the third, an inevitable development of democracy in Croatia.

In other words, projects to create extra-large states, projects that pose the main danger for the survival of Bosnia-Herzegovina, will not be realized, President Izetbegovic said.

B-H: Poll: Izetbegovic Has 'Convincing Lead' Over Silajdzic

AU2108203196 Sarajevo DNEVNI AVAZ in Serbo-Croatian 17 Aug 96 p 9

[FBIS Summary] The unattributed 400-word report explains that a telephone opinion poll on the popularity of the candidates for the future Bosnia-Herzegovina Presidency was carried out among 500 randomly chosen residents of Sarajevo, Zenica, and Tuzla on 18 and 19 August. No other details of the poll are given. It is noted that "on this occasion, too, Alija Izetbegovic, the current president of the Presidency of the Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina, secured a convincing lead over the rest of the candidates. Less than a month before the elections, he enjoys the support of two thirds of the voters. His electoral rating has, from 63 percent (in July), grown by 2 percent over the past 20 days."

As it is further observed, "simultaneously, the score of Haris Silajdzic, the leader of the Party for Bosnia-Herzegovina, has evidently plummeted. Some 22 percent of the residents of Sarajevo, Zenica, and Tuzla voted for him this time, which is 10 percent less than in the first poll." The report also notes "a considerable increase" in the popularity of the United List and its candidate Sead Avdic, who went from 1.5 percent to 10 percent support.

Popularity of Presidential Candidates According to Towns

	Percent
Sarajevo	
Fikret Abdic (Democratic People's Union)	0
Mirnes Ajanovic (Bosnian Youth Union)	0
Safet Redzepagic (Party of Economic Prosperity)	0
Hasib Salkic (Liberal Party)	2.0
Sead Avdic (Joint List of Bosnia-Herzegovina)	10.0
Haris Silajdzic (Party for Bosnia-Herzegovina)	20.0
Alija Izetbegovic (Party of Democratic Action)	68.0
Tuzla	
Fikret Abdic	0
Mirnes Ajanovic	0
Safet Redzepagic	0
Hasib Salkic	1.5
Sead Avdic	11.5
Haris Silajdzic	24.0
Alija Izetbegovic	63.0
Zenica	
Fikret Abdic	0
Mirnes Ajanovic	0
Hasib Salkic	2.0
Safet Redzepagic	3.0
Sead Avdic	8.0
Haris Silajdzic	22.5
Alija Izetbegovic	64.6

B-H: Zubak on Disbanding Herzeg-Bosnia Defense Ministry

LD2108194096 Mostar Croatian Radio Herceg-Bosna in Serbo-Croatian 1600 GMT 21 Aug 96

[FBIS Translated Text] The document called "Agreed Measures" envisages the transfer of power from the Croat Republic of Herzeg-Bosnia and the Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina to the Federation of Bosnia-Herzegovina by 31 August. Our editor Milan Vego asked Bosnia-Herzegovina Federation President Kresimir Zubak about the defense provisions contained in the document:

[Begin recording] [Vego] In connection with the federal defense the Agreed Measures of 15 August say: Every ministry of defense that exists in the federation, except for the Ministry of Defense of the Federation of Bosnia-Herzegovina, will be completely disbanded by 10 September this year. What can you tell us about this?

[Zubak] With regard to the Ministry of Defense of the Croat Republic of Herzeg-Bosnia, we were not able to do this because—as the public knows—the federal defense law had not been adopted for a long time. On the basis of that defense law we were to constitute the Ministry of Defense, i.e., adopt a document on its internal setup which would define the number of top officials and other staff in the ministry. It would be constituted in such a way as to secure a one-third participation of the Croat side in the ministry [sentence as heard].

The obstacle to the ministry being set up is the law, which has not yet been published in the Official Gazette. It should be published, I have signed the decree and I do not know why it has not yet been published in the Official Gazette.

However, in addition to the Ministry of Defense of the Croat Republic of Herzeg-Bosnia, the former ministry of the Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina is still in existence. To tell the truth, it is not listed as being in existence, it is not mentioned anywhere as an institution of Bosnia-Herzegovina, but we know that it is still functioning at full capacity as it did before the signing of the Dayton Agreement. As far as we know, there are around 1,000 employees currently working in the ministry.

When this provision of the Agreed Measures mentions the Ministry of Defense of the Federation of Bosnia-Herzegovina, and says that other ministries should cease to function, it does not only refer to the Ministry of Defense of the Croat Republic of Herzeg-Bosnia, but also to that ministry, which officially does not exist, but it exists in reality. [end recording]

B-H: Ganic Interviewed on Croat Entity, Elections, Brcko

AU2308074496 Sarajevo DNEVNI AVAZ in Serbo-Croatian 17 Aug 96 p 4

[Interview with Ejup Ganic, member of the Presidency and vice president of the Federation, by Sead Numanovic in Sarajevo; date not given: "Brcko Will Determine the Stability of the Dayton Agreement"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Continuous comings and goings of people who carry out various duties in the Republic and Federation, as well as in the SDA [Party of Democratic Action] and cantons; telephone calls and contacts—a real bustle.

This is what Ejup Ganic's office is like. Just outside his spacious room, there is the office of the head of his staff, who is typing something quickly. He is getting ready for a trip with Mr. Ganic. To the left there is a spacious office for two secretaries and those who are waiting to be received. All the time that we were waiting (and this was quite some time), Mr. Ganic repeatedly came out of his office and told his staff what had to be done or was looking for some people.

We began the interview with the most topical event: Geneva.

[Numanovic] How do you assess the course and the outcome of the Geneva talks?

[Ganic] Essentially, we achieved what we wanted. An agreement was signed on the dissolution of the so-called Croatian republic of "Herzeg-Bosnia" with a precise date for this. Its importance is twofold. On the one hand, this creation was made with the knowledge, approval, and support of President Tudjman, so it was impossible to dissolve it without him. Therefore, his signature was more than important. In addition, the agreement was signed at the international level—between Presidents Izetbegovic and Tudjman, which is also very important. After the act of signing, the talks with the Croatian president became more relaxed and it was agreed that a meeting of the Cooperation Council would be held approximately in the first week of September.

[Numanovic] Within the agreement on the dissolution of "Herzeg-Bosnia" it was also agreed that certain powers of [the Republic of] Bosnia-Herzegovina should, in line with the Dayton agreement, be transferred to the Federation. Which and to what degree?

[Ganic] Viewed in chronological order, there were many reasons for the dissolution of "Herzeg-Bosnia." First, the Croats asked for the functions of the Republic and the Federation Governments to be divided. This was done and the Croatian ministers started working at the ministries of the two governments. "Herzeg-Bosnia" still exists, however. We have ceded 95 percent of the functions of the Republic to the Federation, in line with these agreements. The remaining 5 percent will be ceded after the decisions are made by a commission, whose members include foreigners, and this process will be completed in line with their advice....

A Stimulus for Dayton

[Numanovic] What has happened with AID [Agency for Information and Documentation]?

[Ganic] AID was founded at the level of the state of Bosnia-Herzegovina, but we have agreed to limit its powers. There must be a service to represent Bosnia-Herzegovina in dealings with Interpol, regarding crime between the entities, international crime, terrorism, etc.

But let me finish my answer to the preceding question. We have decided that the work of the governments should become more efficient, especially that of the Federation Government, so we have decided that administrative measures may be taken at Federation Government sessions if there is no law pertaining to particular cases, until one is passed. In other words, we do not want to waste time waiting for parliamentary procedures and the regular passing of laws, since this is a very slow procedure.

[Numanovic] Was the Geneva meeting effectively a "little Dayton?"

[Ganic] The single thing that threatened to undermine the Dayton agreement was eliminated. The agreement was signed in the presence of U.S. Secretary of State Warren Christopher, which was a very important moment. This is at the same time a very important stimulus for the Dayton agreement.

All the stories about revising the agreement could be realistic only with regard to reducing separatist tendencies in Bosnia-Herzegovina. Nor can it be ruled out that we may meet in the future too, in order to support the integration process of Bosnia-Herzegovina. I think that the Serbs will ultimately turn toward Bosnia; the Belgrade regime is encouraging them to do this, too.

[Numanovic] Did you meet with any Serbian representatives in Geneva?

[Ganic] Yes. We met with President Milosevic and Mr. Milutinovic, the foreign minister of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia. Our talks with them were useful and we expect a Yugoslav delegation to continue the work that we started recently in Belgrade on economic cooperation. We did not discuss diplomatic relations; attention was paid to economic relations.

[Numanovic] Are you in effect the vice president of the Presidency of the Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina?

[Ganic] I have acquired this function through my work, although it is not formally defined by the Constitution of Bosnia-Herzegovina. Whenever President Izetbegovic was absent over the last six years, I replaced him. Over these six years I was the acting president for practically a whole year if you add it all together.

From time to time there was resistance and criticism, but, whenever work had to be done, I was the one who had to do it. This kind of relationship was established in the Presidency of Bosnia-Herzegovina; it was largely dictated by the situation with which we were confronted: the war, contacts with the army and international representatives and institutions, our people abroad, etc. This position of mine also arose from several difficult situations in which I happened to participate and act. Things will remain like this until 14 September.

There are people who are trying to challenge my position, but their attacks have been cosmetic rather than substantial.

You also ought to know that I have remained at the side of President Izetbegovic in the Presidency throughout the last six years. All other members have changed.

A "Clinical Case"

[Numanovic] Why has the Federation of Bosnia-Herzegovina been a constant "clinical case?" Do the problems over its functioning arise from hegemonism, political clashes between the partners, or from the mafia that is dominant in one political center, controlling every process, including the functioning of the Federation?

[Ganic] All of the elements that you mention are true to some extent. You should know, however, that the Federation extends over 51 percent of the territory and has 100 percent of the problems in Bosnia-Herzegovina. We must work on it a little more so as to be able to solve the problems in the other part of Bosnia-Herzegovina. Reconstruction, reconciliation, production, employment, social care: These are all problems. This is why I say that the Federation has 51 percent of the territory and 100 percent of the problems of Bosnia-Herzegovina.

The Federation is the essence, the most important and difficult project in the state of which I am in charge and I represent the Bosniak nation in it. When I was appointed to that position, it was also taken into account that I was carrying out duties at the Republic level, so that this is also one of the reasons why I work on these things.

[Numanovic] Has any progress been made on the return of refugees? [Ganic] This is going very slowly. We have offered the Croatian side various formulas for the return, made many concessions, proposed solutions, etc. There have been no results, however. Therefore we decided to allow people to start returning to their houses and I spoke publicly about that idea at the time when NATO Secretary General Javier Solana and NATO Commander George Joulwan were in Bosnia. They welcomed the initiative, and we are ready to implement it now.

The situation is somewhat different regarding housing. The laws that we have inherited from earlier times and which are as old as the housing policy state that an apartment can be taken away from the principal tenant only if he leaves it without being forced to. We have the same law. The companies that have apartments of their own may let them to someone else approximately six months after they have become empty. That is it.

Our priority is to protect private property and this is why we have invited Croats to start returning to their houses throughout the Federation. I think that they have accepted this with delight.

This is at the same time the best response to Mate Boban's former ultra-nationalist leader of "Herzeg-Bosnia"] policy, whose aim was to concentrate the Croatian population.

[Numanovic] Have you invited the Serbs back, too?

[Ganic] We shall be talking to the Serb population at the nextstage. Many people have been displaced in the Serb entity, too, so it is high time that we made preparations for talks about the return of the population to their homes. We would like the elections to unfold in these regions under the most favorable conditions possible, since this is one of the key preconditions for normalizing life.

I have already mentioned that the Belgrade leadership also supportsthis position, and the Serbs in Bosnia-Herzegovina will sooner or later have to realize and accept this.

There Are No Mujahidin

[Numanovic] On the same day that you met with Solana and Joulwan, Mr. Zubak, the president of the Federation of Bosnia-Herzegovina, also met with them. According to a release from his office, the reappearance of the mujahidin was discussed. Are there mujahidin in Bosnia-Herzegovina again, or was this only a political game?

[Ganic] It is political manipulation. We had 250,000 troops, which means that we always had enough people for the war. We did not have enough weapons. All those foreign formations in Bosnia-Herzegovina that were under the control of our army have left. They were not very numerous, in any case. Apart from that, we are not on the border with Serbia and Croatia; they know very well what and who entered and left Bosnia-Herzegovina. I want to say that problems are invented when there are no arguments. On that day when I was supporting the return of people to their homes and the protection of private property, someone else starting scaring the world with political manipulations. Stories about the mujahidin were relevant a year ago, but not now.

[Numanovic] The relations between the Federation partners are constantly tense, from time to time even on the verge of a war. Are they dangerous, and could it lead to conflicts with the Croatian Defense Council? To what degree do these relations hamper the establishment and development of the Federation armed forces?

[Ganic] A period of peace is ahead of us. Generally speaking, there are no bad relations with the Croatian population. With the population of Dalmatia, Istria, Slavonia, and Zagreb especially our relations are good and promising. It is the Herzegovina group that is a problem for us. These problems will be solved, however; the conflicts between the two nations are history. Our relations have become more realistic and there are no possibilities or reasons for a new war.

In addition, the international community is very much engaged in the whole Federation project. It is present in the army with the U.S.-led program "Train and Equip" and it is also present in the civilian sector. Germany is here too, and there is the Office of the High Representative. The international community knows where the centers of power are in this region and how they can be influenced.

Conflicts Are History

[Numanovic] There is an impression that relations between yourself and Zubak are relatively tense, that you do not even communicate?

[Ganic] No. I am not a man who interrupts communication. The same is true of Zubak, with whom I very often have coffee and exchange opinions. I tell him what is good and what is bad.

I am creating Bosnia according to the taste of the people who live in Bosnia-Herzegovina, and that is how it is.

[Numanovic] How do you think events in Mostar will unfold?

[Ganic] A very positive step has been taken. The establishment of theCity Council is a significant step forward, and the international community is interested in concluding the project and in bringing some people in west Mostar to their senses. Elections have been held, the results are known, and they are the point of orientation. There is no need for any arbitration.

[Numanovic] There is the impression that you are too optimistic about the Federation?

[Ganic] Viewed in the long run, constructive cooperation will be achieved with the Croatian population. Disagreements will disappear with time, and good relations will outlive the terms of office of the current politicians, both those here—including my own—and those in Zagreb. We have to work on a continuous development of better relations. I try to complete every duty that I perform. Am I an optimist? Yes. Many things have been done and they are positive, but they cannot be seen. If you are pessimistic about a problem, you are defeated from the outset. Therefore it is necessary to be an optimist. Now, we are only speaking about problems with which we are confronted and people have already become used to success and do not notice it. What I have in mind is, for example, the freedom of movement, trade, production, etc.

[Numanovic] After Mostar, another town is in the focus ofattention. This is Brcko, which is becoming increasingly interestingbecause of the approaching arbitration.

[Ganic] Brcko is something that will determine the stability ofthe Dayton Agreement. It is known who lived in that town before andto whom it belongs. We want the Serbs, the Bosniaks, and Croats, as well as everybody else, to be able to move freely around that town. We have to get that region in order to have free access to the state from the north through Brcko. We want freedom of movement for everyone, however.

We would like the arbitration to be completed and a decision made as soon as possible. The object of the arbitration is the town of Brcko and its surroundings and it should focus on who lived in that town, who are the proprietors, and what belongs to whom. You know that I am in charge of the State Commission of Bosnia-Herzegovina that coordinates work in connection with Brcko.

Only a demarcation line, which is controversial, is being discussed now. This is wrong. The object of the arbitration is the Brcko area, which also includes the town.

[Numanovic] Elections are approaching. You are the main candidate on the SDA's Federation list for the Federation Assembly. What about your other duties? How could a Bosniak become president of the Federation?

[Ganic] A Bosniak should become the president of the Federation now. I have not insisted so far on a change to Zubak's term of office in order to have peace in the house. This question has not been raised so far so as to encourage the Croatian side. Apart from that, I have accepted becoming the main candidate on the Federation list for the assembly, because it has been assessed by the SDA that this is a body exceptionally important for future relations in Bosnia-Herzegovina. I am on the top of the list of 140 candidates, and this body is conceived as the place in which the Federation should "start breathing."

Deserved Nomination

[Ganic continues] I think that I deserve the nomination, since many people can remember my activities both before and during the war. Some may have forgotten them, but all this was not so long ago and newspapers can easily be found. The Federation Parliament is an exceptionally important institution,with important powers, and it is very important to have good people there, personalities that will help develop the Federation and relations between its nations.

[Numanovic] How do you, as SDA deputy chairman, assess the course of the election campaign and some incidents that have happened at opposition party rallies, of which people wearing SDA colors have been accused?

[Ganic] We strongly condemn such incidents. They are primarily directed against the SDA and create unnecessary problems for us. I do not know who this group of people is or who gave them SDA regalia. The phenomenon of staging incidents has already been seen in political campaigns, although I do not want that the wrong conclusions are made from my words. There was a large rally in one part of Bosnia-Herzegovina recently and some SDA members were shouted down, things were thrown at them.... Regarding such incidents, I would like to repeat that we do not need such problems and that they are not useful to us. They only harm us. I would like to repeat that we condemn them.

[Box, p 4]

I Am Fighting Against Irregularities

[Numanovic] What do you expect of the forthcoming elections?

[Ganic] The Bosniak population has gone through an ordeal.There was an attempt to destroy it, but we came out of the war with an army—the Bosnia-Herzegovina Army, which is predominantly Bosniak, however. We have retained our sovereignty, territorial integrity, and our position toward the world. Therefore, we must also in the future consider the survival of the Bosniak population. If the people are not unitary and strong, a unitary, powerful, and peaceful Bosnia-Herzegovina cannot exist, either. The election is approaching in which what will be at issue is not only the survival of the Bosniak population and a unitary Bosnia-Herzegovina, but also democracy and liberty. These ambitions and such a program requires that the Bosniak population is unitary, and we cannot be too enthusiastic about it. When he comes to the ballot box, every citizen should consider this and decide who to vote for. A large number of SDA members have already shown how to defend Bosnia. In Nevesinje, for example, only two people from the local SDAleadership survived. The others died as soldiers of the Army of theRepublic of Bosnia-Herzegovina.

I am fighting against some irregularities present in the SDA, against some people who did not perform their duties appropriately. There are such things in the SDA, but this is normal, considering the size of the party.

[Box, p 4]

The United States Is Our Big Friend

[Numanovic] Warren Christopher has been visiting Sarajevo. What were thereasons for his visit?

[Ganic] He came for several reasons, and one of them was to promote the results achieved in Geneva. Apart from that, he opened the airport and informed the world that Bosnia and Sarajevo were returning to the normal world, he strolled around Sarajevo's streets and paid tribute to the victims.You know, in the Balkans, it was only the part of Bosnia controlled by the Army of the Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina that more or less cherished democracy. Sarajevo has always been a warm place for people and they were happy to come to it, regardless of the problems they were confronted with.

Christopher came here to say that life had already become better in Sarajevo and that it would improve even more, that the city had to be reconstructed, Bosnia-Herzegovina supported, and investments made. The United States is our big friend, and we are interested in cherishing and developing our relations.

[Box, p 4]

The Exception Is Becoming the Rule

[Numanovic] How dangerous is the situation that might develop out of the P-2 form in the forthcoming election?

[Ganic] We are fighting hard against this. We support the forthcoming elections and we would like to hold them in the best form possible. The P-2 form has been made as a "fire escape" for a beautiful house. Now a large proportion of Serbs, and even Croats, are trying to make use of that "fire escape" in order to leave the house. The exception has become the rule and we shall stress this problem intensely. It could happen that local elections are jeopardized, that is postponed, since it is becoming evident that the exception that allows some people to vote at their new addresses has become the rule, which means the legalization of ethnic cleansing. We have shown this to the world, and we shall keep on pointing to this problem. But it is in our interest that the elections are held and that their quality is good.

B-H: Zubak Comments on Outstanding Bosnian Problems

LD2108210996 Zagreb HTV Television in Serbo-Croatian 1730 GMT 21 Aug 96

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] A two-day international conference entitled "Bosnia-Herzegovina, Democracy, Reconstruction and Integrity," jointly organized by the Bosnia-Herzegovina Academy of Sciences and Arts and the Croatian Academy of Sciences and Arts, has opened in Sarajevo. [passage omitted

[Correspondent] [Federation President] Kresimir Zubak said that the issue of the internal organization of Bosnia-Herzegovina is the greatest challenge to the establishment of a permanent peace.

[Begin Zubak recording] I believe that the resolution of [words indistinct] important issues:

First, how the relations between the three constituent nations in Bosnia-Herzegovina will be resolved;

Second, what place Bosnia-Herzegovina will have in the international legal system;

Third, what type of relations Bosnia-Herzegovina will have with its neighboring countries, the Republic of Croatia and the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia.

Only when we have answers to these questions and only when the interested parties and relevant political factors reach a political consensus on these issues, only then will we be able to say the crisis is resolved in its most important aspects.

It is quite likely that some believe that the Dayton agreement answers the first question. My knowledge of the local situation and the state of relations here leads me to conclude that there will be—I hope, I believe—political struggle until the relations between the constituent nations in Bosnia-Herzegovina are regulated completely.

Unlike other nations which completed these processes in the distant past, the Croats, the Bosniak Muslims, and the Serbs in Bosnia-Herzegovina—both as nations and as citizens—have for the first time in their history assumed the role of political agents, who are freely expressing how they will regulate their relations in the state and legal sense. This applies above all to—I hope that I will not be misunderstood—the Bosniak Muslims. [end recording]

B-H: Kapetanovic Says Serbs Obstructing Brcko Arbitration

AU2108184496 Belgrade BETA in Serbo-Croatian 1107 GMT 21 Aug 96

[FBIS Translated Text] Sarajevo, 21 Aug (BETA)—Izudin Kapetanovic, president of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Federation Government, accused the Bosnian Serbs of undermining the attempts to normalize the relations in Brcko, the Sarajevo state radio reports.

In a statement issued on this occasion in connection with the problem of the arbitration in this town, Kapetanovic first reiterated that the peace agreement for Bosnia-Herzegovina envisages that the international arbitration be completed by 14 December 1996.

The arbiters are Cazim Sadakovic from Bosnia-Herzegovina, Vitomir Popovic from the Serb Republic, and Roberts Owen, the representative of the international community, as the chairman of the arbitration tribunal.

"When it was believed that the conditions for the beginning of the arbitration were met, the Serb side resorted to open obstruction. Serb Republic Prime Minister Gojko Klickovic stated that the town's unresolved status could result in a new war, by which the Serbian authorities actually showed their true colors, which, in all hitherto moves in Brcko, have demonstrated that they have never wished anything to be any different," Kapetanovic emphasized.

According to him, the arbiter from the Serb entity is striving to postpone the beginning of the arbitration procedure at all costs, refusing to attend the first formal session of the commission.

"The international community is closing its eyes to these facts, while the Serb leadership continues to appropriate the town, forcing the newly arrived Serbs to vote in this area in the forthcoming elections," Bosnia-Herzegovina Federation prime minister said.

He reiterated that, prior to the 1991 census, out of 41,405 residents in Brcko, 56 percent were Muslims, 20 percent were Serbs, 7 percent were Croats, and 11 percent were members of other ethnic groups.

According to Kapetanovic "the residents of Brcko voiced pro-Bosnian sentiments at the 1992 referendum, when 77 percent of the total number of voters opted for a sovereign and independent Bosnia-Herzegovina."

"The demographic picture of the town has been altered through the planned expulsion and killing of the Muslim and the Croatian people. More than 7,000 people were killed and about 30,000 expelled, and then the silent occupation of Brcko was carried with the settlement of the Serbs," Kapetanovic claimed.

He reiterated that the Federation leadership favors a peaceful resolution of the problems in this town.

B-H: Tuzla Citizens 'Dissatisfied' With OSCE, IFOR Activity

AU2208142996 Sarajevo NTV99 Television in Serbo-Croatian 2000 GMT 21 Aug 96

[Report by unidentified correspondent from Tuzla; from the "Oko 22" program]

[FBIS Translated Text] Tuzla is inundated by election posters stuck up by IFOR. The election posters call on people to vote in the elections. They are a part of the OSCE campaign to get the citizens of Bosnia-Herzegovina to vote.

However, most citizens are dissatisfied with what the OSCE and IFOR are doing in the preelection period. Tuzla Mayor Selim Beslagic has said that it is more important for the people that were forced to leave their homes that these posters are stuck up in places they had to leave, referring here primarily to Srebrenica or Capljina, for example. The OSCE and IFOR are often criticized harshly for not doing enough to convince the people that the elections in Bosnia-Herzegovina will be free and fair.

B-H: European Bank Grants $32-Million Loan

AU2208112996 Hanau NOVA BOSNA in Serbo-Croatian 21 Aug 96 p 20

[Article by O.D.: "$32.7 Million Loan to Bosnia-Herzegovina"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Sarajevo, 20 August—Last Saturday (17 August) an accord was signed between Bosnia-Herzegovina and the European Bank for Reconstruction and Development [EBRD] in London on a loan for the rebuilding of communications in Bosnia-Herzegovina. The loan amounts to $32.7 million, and the period for repayment is 15 years, with no interest figured in for the first two years. This is the first loan approved to Bosnia-Herzegovina by EBRD, and the first financial deal in which Bosnia-Herzegovina will represent both entities. The loan will be used by the Federation of Bosnia-Herzegovina and the so-called Serb entity in Bosnia-Herzegovina for the rebuilding of air and road traffic communications.

According to Neven Tomic, minister of foreign trade and international communications in the government of the Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina, the loan could become operative in the second half of September, and will be used for the purchase of air navigation equipment, the repair of the airports in Sarajevo, Mostar and Banja Luka, and the reconstruction of roads and bridges in the Federation of Bosnia-Herzegovina and the so-called Serb entity in Bosnia-Herzegovina.

The state of Bosnia-Herzegovina will sign additional contracts with its two entities on the use of the loan.

B-H: France Donates 11 Million Francs for Sarajevo Airport

AU2208190496 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1700 GMT 22 Aug 96

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] The French Government today donated 11 million francs [Fr] worth of aid for the reconstruction of Sarajevo airport. More details in the report by Senada Cumurovic:

[Begin recording] [Cumurovic] Within the framework of the bilateral aid approved for Bosnia-Herzegovina for 1996, Ambassador Yves Claudel for the French Government and Bosnia-Herzegovina Finance Minister Mirsad Kikanovic signed a protocol whereby France donates Fr11 million for the purchase of equipment for assistance in air navigation at Sarajevo airport. On that occasion, Minister Kikanovic, naturally, thanked the French Government for the donation and added:

[Kikanovic] With the signing of this protocol, France continues to help Bosnia-Herzegovina, this time in peace, in its rebuilding and reconstruction. The funds that we received today will facilitate an ever-safer sky over Bosnia-Herzegovina. [passage omitted]

[Cumurovic] The talks on the new Fr14 million donation will take place over the next few weeks. This will form a part of the overall French civilian, economic, financial, and humanitarian aid to Bosnia to the amount of Fr320 million for 1996. [end recording]

B-H: Saudi Arabia Gives $20 Million for Housing Reconstruction

AU2208115296 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1100 GMT 22 Aug 96

[FBIS Translated Text] Mirsad Kihanovic, minister of finance of the Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina, and (Yusuf al-Basan), director general of the technical department of the Saudi Arabian Fund for Development, in Sarajevo today signed an agreement on a Saudi Arabian donation of $20 million for the reconstruction of 2,000 housing facilities in Bosnia-Herzegovina. Owing to this donation, which will become operative in the following days, the reconstruction of 500 housing facilities in Sanski Most, Gorazde, Celici, Maglaj and Tesanj is supposed to start soon.

The Agency for the Rebuilding of Housing Stock with the Ministry for Spatial Planning of the Federation of Bosnia-Herzegovina has already identified projects, while bids are now being taken from construction firms for their realization.

B-H: Kuwait To Finance Infrastructure Programs

AU2208182796 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1700 GMT 22 Aug 96

[FBIS Translated Text] Dr. Ejup Ganic, member of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Presidency and vice president of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Federation, today received a message from Mr. (Dagr Al' Kumaisi), director general of the Kuwaiti Development Fund, stating that the Fund has agreed to provide financial support for several projects agreed upon by the state delegations during a recent visit. A line of credit at the Bank for Reconstruction and Development of Bosnia-Herzegovina and financing for projects involving water supply and construction of housing infrastructure were secured on this occasion. This involves completing the water supply system in Sarajevo, reconstructing [word indistinct], equipping public sanitation companies, the water pipeline in Cazin, the sewage system in Srebrenik, building roads in Mostar region Strizevo-Donja Deznica (11 km), Blagaj-Velo Buno (2 km), [words indistinct] (4 km), and Potoci-Vrapcici (5 km), as well as constructing a municipal bridge [word indistinct].

The program also includes technical and financial assistance in the conducting the technical, economic, and financial feasibility studies.

B-H: Mostar Deputy Mayor on Results of City Council Meeting

AU2308074996 Sarajevo DNEVNI AVAZ in Serbo-Croatian 16 Aug 96 p 5

[Interview with Safet Orucevic, deputy mayor of Mostar, by Faruk Cardzic on 14 August; place not given: "We Have Defended the National Interests of All"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Mostar is the only city in Bosnia-Herzegovina exempt from the famous exception from the Election Rules and Regulations established by the OSCE [Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe]. During the elections held in Mostar on 30 June, only those citizens who lived in Mostar at the time of the 1991 census were entitled to vote. This was pointed out by Safet Orucevic, deputy mayor of Mostar, in an interview he gave to DNEVNI AVAZ on Wednesday, 14 August, as one in a series of victories won by the Citizens' List for a United Mostar.

Openly satisfied with the outcome of the City Council meeting, held for the first time in the presence of its full membership, Orucevic said:

"Since Mostar has proved to be the most difficult area in terms of introducing federal elements, I think the constructive atmosphere of this meeting showed that there is hope for Mostar and for further promotion of relations between Croats and Bosniaks in this city."

More Quickly to a Solution

The latest City Council meeting showed that when all council members are included in the discussion—instead of just the administrator, Brajkovic, and Orucevic only—solutions of mutual interests were reached much more quickly, more practically, and more constructively. Each participant in the discussion expressed his desire that there be no more war. This makes one optimistic.

[Cardzic] Do you think that all sides are equally pleased with this?

[Orucevic] By adopting the city statute, we have fully defended the national interests of all inhabitants of Mostar. We fought for a policy aimed at a united city, not at separate Croatian or Bosniak ghettos, into which they tried to force us. They wanted us to live separately, one next to the other, which would have left Mostar a completely divided city. This is how our opponents wanted to achieve the division of the whole of the Federation. We succeeded in preventing this idea, however, and this was confirmed by the City Council meeting.

[Cardzic] Do you think that Ivan Prskalo, as mayor for all residents of Mostar, is the best choice among the 16 City Council members on the Croatian side?

[Orucevic] Our side fully supports him as mayor of all inhabitants of this city. We will carry out everything the City Council decides on and create a unitary city step by step.

[Cardzic] The council session was interrupted for a moment at the request of the City Council members from the Citizens' List for Unitary Mostar.

[Orucevic] That's because on Wednesday we fought for the policy of rotating canton governor and the mayor of Mostar, the latter of which is a very specific problem. There are a certain number of Croatian politicians who have for a long time wanted to make Herzegovina a Croatian region with "Mostar as the capital" even within the Federation. However, we won the fight for the rotation principle.

A Good Match

[Cardzic] Was this rotation policy not agreed upon earlier?

[Orucevic] Although HDZ [Croatian Democratic Union] representatives have claimed that this had been agreed upon since the elections in Mostar, I am telling you that it was not. We kept silent, though, we did not want to point this out. In fact, we made a similar offer to Brajkovic seven or eight months ago in an effort to solve the crisis at that time, but our proposal was turned down. Now with the results of the elections and our supremacy in the City Council, HDZ representatives claim that such a rotation is normal and natural, even though this does not happen in any other canton. In this way, we have completely protected our national interests.

[Cardzic] Are you saying that the HDZ has given up on trying to establish a union of Mostar communes with a Croatian majority?

[Orucevic] If the HDZ continues with these political tendencies, this means that they want the circumstances in Mostar to worsen. These three Croatian communes cannot merge without the consent of the members of the City Council of other nationalities who also live there. These communes, regardless of whether they merge or not, have in any case the same rights they would have in any kind of association.

[Cardzic] It seems that your words are full of optimism. Are you also optimistic regarding the complete freedom of movement in Mostar?

[Orucevic] To be honest, our optimism is founded on the objective of the dissolution of "Herzeg-Bosnia." Whenever we see that there is progress regarding this goal, our optimism grows. There is no solution to the crisis without the annulment of the administrative arrangement of Herzeg-Bosnia, not only in Mostar, but in Stolac, Capljina, Prozor, and other regions.

[Cardzic] Let us discuss a more banal matter: When will Velez [soccer team from Mostar] play in Mostar again and when would you appear at one of its matches?

[Orucevic] I propose that this be your first question to our new mayor, so that the City Council can then take care of the football grounds. Then we can cut the grass, and schedule a date for match.

[Box, p 5]

Closer Than Brajkovic

In the meeting of the Mostar City Council, 37 members voted for Ivan Prskalo for mayor and for Safet Orucevic as his deputy.

About the new Mostar mayor Orucevic said: "Based on his performance during the meeting on Wednesday, it is clear that his positions differ significantly from those of Mr. Mijo Brajkovic [the former mayor], at least regarding the steps for a quicker creation of the unitary city."

[Box, p 5]

Creation of the Pro-Bosnian Front

Asked his opinion on the forthcoming election in Bosnia-Herzegovina, Orucevic replied:

"If the elections are held in accordance with the 'famous' Article 7, which allows changes to the demographic structure and the legalization of ethnic cleansing, I can say with certainty that the September elections will be a catastrophe that will finally divide Bosnia-Herzegovina. I am convinced that both the Serbian and Croatian sides have their own election strategies for the creation of an ethnically homogeneous territory. In that case, I am afraid the dissolution of Bosnia would be very probable. The only defensive mechanism is the creation of a joint pro-Bosnian front, the type of which ensured success toward a unitary Mostar. If the opposite occurs, however, the success we achieved in Mostar will not be very tangible."

B-H: Rights Organization Says 'No Progress' Made in Stolac

AU2108151796 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1300 GMT 21 Aug 96

[Report by Aida Hadzimehic]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] The Presidency of the Stolac municipality and the Helsinki Committee for Human Rights in Bosnia-Herzegovina today held a news conference on the rights of the residents of Stolac to return home. Aida Hadzimehic reports:

[Hadzimehic] The news conference was opened by Srdjan Dizdarevic, head of the Helsinki Committee for Human Rights in Bosnia-Herzegovina, who said that the Helsinki committee is addressing the public at home and abroad about the Stolac problem for the second time. He concluded that Stolac has been ethnically cleansed, and that the town's population is today made up of only one nation. All Bosniak heritage has been destroyed, including some cultural-historical and religious monuments [words indistinct]. Despite the Washington and Dayton agreements, no progress has been made in Stolac in setting up legal authorities.

The responsibility for this situation lies with the current municipal authorities, the parties that have won the majority of votes in the recent elections, and the president and the vice president of the Federation, Mr. Dizdarevic said.

There is no freedom of movement, and the refugees' right to return is not being observed. Considering that the elections are approaching, one should stress that apart from the HDZ [Croatian Democratic Union], no other political parties are able to operate in Stolac. [passage omitted]

B-H: IFOR Steps Up Control in Brcko To Counter 'Threats'

AU2208115396 Hanau NOVA BOSNA in Serbo-Croatian 2[illegible] Aug 96 p 3

[FBIS Translated Text] Brcko, 20 August—Members of IFOR, in addition to opening new checkpoints in the Brcko region, have also stepped up control of goods and passenger traffic at the existing checkpoints, HABENA news agency reports.

"IFOR is taking all kinds of measures against potential and well-known threats, constantly assessing the situation, and appropriately adjusting the degree of protection of its troops," public relations officer (?Billings) of the 1st U.S. brigade within IFOR said, adding that IFOR is acting in line with instructions received, and maintaining the greatest possible degree of readiness of its troops.

(?Billings) did not specify what threats he had in mind, emphasizing that IFOR generally does not provide any details on (Serb) threats.

B-H: Plavsic Urges Voters 'To Preserve' Dayton Gains

AU2208141396 Belgrade BETA in Serbo-Croatian 0935 GMT 22 Aug 96

[FBIS Translated Text] Banja Luka, 22 August (BETA)—Acting Serb Republic president Biljana Plavsic last night in Banja Luka called upon "all Serbian patriots to preserve and verify" what was gained with the Dayton accord at the coming elections.

Before several thousand spectators at the meeting of the Serbian Democratic Party [SDS] in Banja Luka's local community of Laus, Plavsic stated that the Serb Republic preserved 80 percent of its sovereignty with the Dayton peace accord.

"Now, after the bloody war years, it is up to you to go to the elections and cast your vote for the party and the individual who you believe will defend all your interests the best," Biljana Plavsic said.

According to her, "due to the objective circumstances and the unprecedented pressures by the international community," the SDS was not able to realize its "very extensive and comprehensive economic and social program" over the past few years.

"We will only be able to realize what we have long had on paper in the post-Dayton peace by respecting and acknowledging the interests of the peoples in the other entity," Biljana Plavsic said.

Also speaking at the rally in Laus were: Dragoljub Mirjanic, candidate for the Serb Republic vice president; Slobodan Bijelic, the main candidate on the list for the House of Representatives of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Assembly; Ostoja Knezevic, candidate on the same list; Branislav Lolic, deputy in the Serb Republic Peoples' Assembly; and Vitomir Popovic, the main candidate on the list for Banja Luka.

B-H: Klickovic Denies Bildt Office's Charge of Obstruction

AU2308095496 Banja Luka Srpski Radio Network in Serbo-Croatian 1700 GMT 20 Aug 96

[FBIS Translated Text] Reacting to accusations of Bildt's office that the Serb side and Serb Republic Prime Minister Gojko Klickovic obstruct agreements on exchange of war prisoners and exhumation of mass graves, Klickovic sent a letter to Bildt's deputy Michael Steiner saying:

Dear Sir, I am glad you found the time to contact the association of families of captured Serb Republic soldiers and missing persons, but I must object to the statement issued by Bildt's office in Banja Luka which brings up several inaccurate and incorrect, malicious details on your behalf regarding the meeting of the representatives of the Serb Republic government and Bosnia-Herzegovina Federation that was supposed to take place on 15 August in Sarajevo. The statement does not mention many months of efforts by the Serb authorities, prior to the Sarajevo meeting, to observe the relevant part of the Dayton Accord, liberate war prisoners, to find a positive solution to the problem of missing persons. However, the statement tendentiously claims that Prime Minister Klickovic allegedly canceled the meeting over more important appointments. You failed to mention that a high-ranking government delegation headed by Dragan Bulajic, president of the state committee for exchange of war prisoners and missing persons, was sent to attend the meeting instead of the prime minister. The statement does not mention the agreement with the Serb side that delegations should meet on neutral ground, the agreement on equal access to exhumations, and the demand for a more active role of international police forces in locating and securing mass graves. Such failures of the international mediators come as no surprise and we believe them to be pure manipulation. Furthermore, in your address to families of war prisoners and missing persons, you forgot to say that the Serb side insisted that families of the missing and the dead be involved in the painful and arduous task.

At the end of the letter, Klickovic demands that Bildt's office inform the families of the missing and the captured about the following: Why did the international community not complete lists and determine ways to liberate war prisoners? Why has the procedure for visiting the locations where persons went missing or were captured not been established yet? What has been done to prevent frequent incidents at places of execution of the Serbs? Why has it not been revealed, regarding the implementation of the Dayton accord, that the international community had full support of the Serb Republic authorities on the issue?

B-H: Klickovic Predicts SDS Victory 'Together With Radovan'

AU2108135096 Banja Luka Srpski Radio Network in Serbo-Croatian 1700 GMT 19 Aug 96

[Report by Milan Vujasin]

[FBIS Translated Text] Even without Radovan [Karadzic] on the list, the Serb Democratic Party [SDS] will win together with Radovan, emphasized Serb Republic Prime Minister Gojko Klickovic at today's session of the Novi Grad [Serb name for Bosanski Novi] SDS municipal committee. [sentence as heard] Klickovic spoke of continued pressure on the Serb Republic to remove Radovan Karadzic from the Serb Republic, even though he no longer holds any public office, but he said that no more concessions would be made. Prime Minister Klickovic thanked the citizens of Novi Grad, who had begun defending Serb national interests while many others were still dormant, saying that this should never be forgotten. Talking about the current activities of the government, Prime Minister Klickovic stressed that the reorganization of the army is under way, that outstanding pensions are being paid, and outstanding obligations toward welfare families, especially disabled veterans and other participants of the war, are being fulfilled.

In an introductory speech to the session marking the Transfiguration and the sixth anniversary of the foundation of the SDS in Novi Grad, which had been called Bosanski Novi at the time, Momir Umicevic, president of the SDS municipal committee, emphasized that the SDS was continuing to come under pressure designed to annul the statehood of the Serb Republic and expel the Serbs east across the Drina River. "We will persevere because we have so much to fight for. Our goal is to find a solution to the national issue and preserve the Serb Republic," said Umicevic.

The central ceremony marking the anniversary of the foundation of the SDS in the municipality of Novi Grad was a people's rally [narodni zbor] in Crkvina, in the Podgrmec part of the municipality. Prime Minister Klickovic addressed the gathering.

[Begin Klickovic recording] Fellow Serbs, the elections lie ahead of us, crucial elections that will put an end to the six years of arduous toil, war, and suffering. These elections will show whether the Serb Republic will remain the first Serb country across the Drina River or be engulfed by [word indistinct] and jihad. It is up to you to make the decision for your own benefit or against your interests. The people of Podgrmec and Kozara do not need advisors or tutors. You will know who is with you and who is against you. Remember: On 14

September 1996, you can use your vote to verify the existing Serb Republic or for ever destroy that dream and agree to another exodus of the Serbs from the region. Let us overcome all our internal conflicts to achieve the highest goal—the state that we must have—and let us create the Serb Republic. Leaders of all parties in the Serb Republic, you must realize that there is no alternative to the state and freedom. Power is transient. There is little to rule over in a country that has been at war for five years. Without Radovan Karadzic on the list, with Radovan and the SDS, the Serbs will finally achieve the first Serb state west of the Drina River! [end recording]

Simo Drljaca, chief of the Prijedor police department, Radomir Pasic, member of the main committee of the SDS of Serb lands and head of the deputy list for the Novi Grad municipal assembly, and Mitar Lazic, member of the assembly of the SDS of Serb lands and candidate for the Serb Republic people's assembly, also addressed the gathering in Crkvina. Another rally in the Novi Grad municipality was held today at Agica Brdo, where Radomir Pasic and Mitar Lazic addressed the gathering during the evening.

B-H: Daily Claims Karadzic Has Health Problems

AU2208195096 Hanau NOVA BOSNA in Serbo-Croatian 22 Aug 96 p 7

[Article by R. Kos: "A Psychiatrist Visiting a Psychiatrist"]

[FBIS Translated Text] It has been no secret in Pale for some time that Karadzic has problems with his health. At first glance, one can see that he is some 10-kg "thinner." Foreign correspondents who came to photograph him in his office in Pale last week at his own invitation were suddenly banned from doing so because his hands were shaking. Only after two hours did Karadzic regain control and apologized to the correspondents, saying that he did not sleep well.

Realizing that her father is no longer what he used to be, Karadzic's daughter Sonja is packing her suitcases. She wants to go abroad. Canada is the first choice. Australia is also a possibility. She is supposed to represent Pale there for $5,000 a month, with, of course, housing, travel, and entertainment expenses paid.

Strangely, the only person who is against Sonja Karadzic's new post is in fact Karadzic's successor, Biljana Plavsic. She called the former leader from Pale a "saint," but said that his daughter Sonja should not "behave so indecently." After all this upheaval, the psychiatrist Karadzic went for regular therapy to his friend, a psychiatrist.

B-H: Election Posters of Karadzic Removed in Zvornik

AU2108145696 Belgrade BETA in Serbo-Croatian 0735 GMT 21 Aug 96

[FBIS Translated Text] Sarajevo, 21 August (BETA-REUTER)—Carl Bildt, high representative of the international community for Bosnia-Herzegovina, has stated that the Serb Democratic Party [SDS] in Zvornik has removed the election campaign posters showing leader of Bosnian Serbs Radovan Karadzic, after it was warned that, unless it does so, its candidates will be barred from the election race next month.

"European observers have inspected the town and informed me that they found only one poster of Karadzic displayed near the local hospital," Bildt stated yesterday.

The high representative spoke with the mayor of Zvornik and an official of the local SDS branch on Saturday [17 August], whom he warned that the posters he had seen displayed in the main street must be removed by Monday.

"It seems that the warning has produced a certain effect, which is good. Let us hope that things will remain that way," Bildt said, adding that he wrote to the SDS leadership telling them he does not want to see Karadzic's posters displayed any place.

B-H: Serb Defense Minister, UN Envoy Discuss 'Fair Elections'

LD2108152596 Belgrade SRNA in Serbo-Croatian 1345 GMT 21 Aug 96

[FBIS Translated Text] Doboj, 21 Aug (SRNA)—Serb Republic Defense Minister Milan Ninkovic said in Doboj today that the Serbian Democratic Party and the whole of the Serb Republic want regular elections.

Ninkovic told Iqbal Rizza, special envoy of the UN secretary general, that the Serb Republic has organized itself to ensure regular elections. He asked the international community to do everything possible to ensure fair elections and to stop using double standards.

Rizza confirmed that the Serb leadership is interested in regular elections and noted that the situation is very complicated. He added that it is the principal responsibility of the authorities in both the Serb Republic and the Croat-Muslim Federation to ensure secure elections.

The meeting between Ninkovic and Rizza was also attended by Drago Ljubicic, chairman of the Doboj Municipal Assembly, and Vlado Djordjevic, head of the public security center.

B-H: Article Describes Mladic's 'Nuclear Shelter' on Mt Javor

AU2108143596 Sarajevo DNEVNI AVAZ in Serbo-Croatian 16 Aug 96 p 7

[Article by Djuro Kozar: "Mladic Is Hiding 200 Meters Below Ground"]

[FBIS Translated Text] When IFOR examined the weapons in the Han Pijesak barracks on Tuesday [13 August], the criminal Ratko Mladic was obviously not in the vicinity. Nor was he far away, however. DNEVNI AVAZ has learned that, at that time, he was probably 10-km away, in the Veliki Zep military facility on Mount Javor. He is relatively safe there, since IFOR has not visited that locality yet.

Veliki Zep is a hill on which there is an entrance to a tunnel that leads to a nuclear shelter 200 meters below ground. In order to mask the underground command center, the former Yugoslav People's Army [JNA] built a forest ranger's hut and two shacks at the entrance. The command center is situated in one of the two shacks, and Mladic resides there, while the guards and auxiliary personnel are in the other. The facility is 1,537 meters above sea level. If the situation should become precarious, the criminal Mladic would be able to reach the tunnel in only a few seconds and, from there, to get to the shelter in approximately 15 minutes.

Three Structures

NATO probably knows about the Veliki Zep facility, but since there are no armored vehicles or heavy artillery there, the site is not being controlled at present. Whether it is known in Brussels that there is an underground command there is difficult to say, but there are indications that they might know about it.

A former JNA general, with whom we discussed this topic and who wanted to remain anonymous, told us that the idea of a command center deep below ground was born after the crisis [with the then Soviet Union] in 1948 and the adoption of Cominform and materialized as early as 1950. Three underground structures were built—the main base, for Tito and his General Staff in the event of war, and two auxiliary bases: one for radio reception and one for radio transmission. The main structure has the best equipment: There are cabinets and offices, a kitchen, restaurants, bedrooms, sanitary facilities, water reservoirs, and large power units for electric energy supplies, all connected by long corridors. Three hundred people can live in these rooms normally, without help from outside. The facility is equipped with fresh-air filters, so that it would also be safe to stay inside after a nuclear attack. Immediately following its construction, a problem with damp developed. The problem was solved by continuous ventilation as long as the facility was in use. When the situation with Russia stabilized, the underground facility was gradually abandoned, and the damp remained.... From 1970 to 1974, the former Sarajevo Military Region Command renovated the facility for command purposes in the event of war. In 1980, the radio-link structure was modernized as the command post of the Sarajevo Military Region in the rear. The third structure has never been renovated, and it is believed that it is not functioning now. The problem of damp has been solved with a better insulation and ventilation.

The underground command center under Mt. Javor was a top secret in the JNA. How important this secret was can be seen from the fact that only a few generals holding the most prominent positions in the Military Region Command and in the JNA General Staff had an opportunity to enter the facility. When long-distance power lines were brought to the facility through thick forests and outside inhabited areas, no one was allowed to ask who would use the electricity in this secluded region. Everything remained top secret until the start of the aggression against Bosnia-Herzegovina.

Relative Safety

Of all the commanding officers of the former 2d Military Region, which was established in Sarajevo in January 1992, only Commander Milutin Kukanjac knew about the Han Pijesak underground command center, since he had entered it on several occasions as commander of the Serbian Autonomous Region Operative Division. When he ceded his duties to Ratko Mladic, since the war had already begun, he drew Mladic's attention to the underground facility, telling him that it could be very useful in the event of air strikes.

There are indications that Mladic hid his General Staff in this underground shelter when NATO's combat aircraft shelled Serb positions in May, August, and September 1995. Protected at a depth of 200 m, Mladic commanded the Serb army from Veliki Zep. After he went to General Djordje Djukic's funeral [in Belgrade], Mladic returned to Javor, although rumor had it that he was kept by Slobodan Milosevic.

Whenever there is no direct danger for him from the direction of Han Pijesak, Mladic stays in the larger shack situated at the entrance to the tunnel on Veliki Zep. It was constructed for the needs of the former Sarajevo Military Region Command—that is, for those who were not among the officers allowed to enter the underground facility. In the 70's and 80's, the senior officers from the Command "waged war" with papers and maps in the shelter, which was called the "General Staff command games." When the Sarajevo Military Region was abolished on 31 December 1988 and its "zone of responsibility" was transferred to the former 1st Military Region Command, the facility under Mt. Javor was put under the direct command of Belgrade. The closer the beginning of the aggression against Bosnia-Herzegovina approached, the better guarded was the underground command center.

Since he is hiding in Veliki Zep, why did Mladic oppose an inspection of the Han Pijesak barracks?

This was yet another attempt by Mladic to mislead IFOR. It was confirmed on Tuesday, during the inspection, that there was nothing in the Han Pijesak barracks that could be of an importance to Mladic that he should prevent an inspection. The postponement of the inspection was part of his plan, however, because he wanted to give the impression that if IFOR really stormed the barracks, he could be arrested. Now that the site has been inspected, Mladic can breathe a sigh of relief. The whole thing unfolded according to his wish—IFOR is both close and far away from him. In other words, it cannot harm him at the moment.

Emerging From the "Hole"

Those who know about the Veliki Zep facility agree that it is the safest place for the criminal Mladic and that he need not look for a better shelter. He has not been to Belgrade since Djukic's funeral, his wife and son go to the Mt. Javor instead. Mladic emerged from the "hole" on St. Vitus' Day, who is the patron saint of the Serb Republic army, and carried out the inspection of a company, which was filmed by Pale Television. His wife was seen at his side.

This shelter and the way in which Mladic is hiding from IFOR makes his arrest complicated. Military experts we have consulted think that IFOR could only arrest Mladic on Mt. Javor in a helicopter assault.

B-H: 'Sources' Say Agreement Reached on Replacement of Mladic

AU2108194596 Belgrade NEDELJNI TELEGRAF in Serbo-Croatian 21 Aug 96 p 4

[Unattributed report: "General Mladic Is Leaving the Post of VRS Commander; Belgrade Favors Gvero and Tlimir, and Pale Favors Milovanovic"]

[FBIS Translated Text] General Ratko Mladic will remain chief of the General Staff of the Army of Serb Republic [VRS] until the elections since his replacement is nearly a fait-accompli that has been worked on since the beginning of the VRS reorganization. This was stated exclusively for NEDELJNI TELEGRAF by a source close to the VRS.

The same source claims that if Belgrade's influence does not prevail, Mladic will be replaced by Manojlo Milovanovic, the candidate of the authorities from Pale. In the second option, Belgrade would need to decide between two candidates, Gen. Milan Gvero and Gen. Zdravko Tolimir.

In the second option, NEDELJNI TELEGRAF's sources give the advantage to Gen. Tolimir, since he "has sound communications relations with IFOR" and "is a proponent of the idea that the VRS should not react even if IFOR decides to take some sudden actions in the Serb Republic."

The decision on Mladic's replacement, which has been demanded by the international mediators since the indictment of the chief of the VRS General Staff by The Hague tribunal, is one of those very rare decisions over which Pale, Belgrade, and Washington have reached an unconditional agreement, NEDELJNI TELEGRAF sources claim, adding that, during her visit to the Han Pijesak facility, Biljana Plavsic, acting president of the Serb Republic, told Michael Walker, commander of IFOR ground forces, that "Gen. Mladic will certainly leave his post," and asked for understanding until the elections. Our collocutors told us that the replacement of Ratko Mladic could be speeded up only if the State Department steps up the pressure in the meantime or if the participation of the Serbian Democratic Party in the elections is made dependent on his replacement.

B-H: Daily Analyzes Background of Serb Commander Change

AU2208093496 Sarajevo DNEVNI AVAZ in Serbo-Croatian 10-11 Aug 96 p 14

[Article by Djuro Kozar: "Unsuitable General Simic"]

[FBIS Translated Text] In late July there came a change in the leadership of the East Bosnia-Herzegovina corps of the Serb Republic [RS] army: Instead of General Novica Simic, Gen. Budimir Gavric had been named commander of this formation. This change in personnel would not have deserved attention had it not been preceded by an argument between generals. After the argument, the criminal Ratko Mladic angrily shouted out: "Simic can no longer deal with us...."

Gen. Simic thus surprisingly traveled from Bijeljina to Belgrade, without a return ticket. He is now fulfilling the duty of head of a department within the General Staff of the Yugoslav Army.

Disagreement on the Concept

The former commandant of the East Bosnia-Herzegovina corps of the RS army had become the opposition to the General Staff after the Dayton agreement. Specifically, the opposition to Gen. Mladic. He supposedly did not agree to the development concept of the Serb army that Mladic had suggested, and he publicly said so at the military consultation in Sukoc. Simic felt that the Serb army should develop as a peacetime army, and not as a wartime army. On this occasion Simic suggested a method of organization for the army which was different from the one that Mladic had suggested. Such an approach seems to have incited a tumultuous reaction from the conceited man from Kalinovik. When he began threatening, some of the officers took the side of the critic.

After the consultation had turned into an ordinary fight, the military leadership of the Serb army realized that Simic had to be removed from the post of commander and that an obedient general would have to be put there instead. Th[illegible]ow Gavric was named commander instead of S[illegible]ut the feeling of a split between the Serb general[illegible]d remained.

As it seems, the commanders of the RS army are bothered with the unsolved status of their nominal head, Mladic. Because of The Hague warrant and his need to hide, Mladic is no longer fulfilling his duty as commander as foreseen, but has shifted a great deal of the responsibility upon his deputy Gen. Manojlo Milovanovic. Milovanovic is otherwise the Chief of Staff of the RS army. The situation is now confusing: the commander is one person, but the duties of the commander are being fulfilled by someone else! The troops would like a clear relation, but this is impossible to carry out at this time, because Mladic does not want to give up the main commanding function and give it fully to Milovanovic.

Whether for this reason or another, four of the six commander (Gens. Momir Talic, Radovan Grubac, Dragomir Milosevic, and Radovan Krstic) have asked to be returned to the Yugoslav Army from the RS army, believing that it would be better there. Considering their war experience, Belgrade would gladly welcome them back, but Mladic doe not even want to hear of this. That is because if the commanders leave, then there would be no one to keep the lower officers from escaping over the Drina river, from leaving Han Pijesak, Nevesinje, Derventa, or Kalinovik.

Panic Among the Officers

In an interview for a Belgrade newspaper, Gen. Milovanovic said that it will be very different to maintain the morale and the organization of the RS army "because the commanders are dissatisfied." He explained this dissatisfaction with the lack of apartments for the officers, the separation from their families, as well as being tired of the war. Anyone who follows the events in this army knows that is not all. The roots of the crisis in the army go much deeper. Just like its political leadership, the army has also involved itself in war crimes, profiteering, misuse, and other forms of crime. Some of those with high ranks have, during the four years of aggression against Bosnia-Herzegovina, taken advantage of this, and would now like to enjoy their wealth in peace—like Arkan, Seselj, and Bokan.

Some of the officers responsible for crimes against civilians and prisoners of war now fear that they, too, may share Mladic's fate, which is what will actually happen if justice is done. And such people would like to escape from Bosnia-Herzegovina, but they do not yet know whether they will be secure in Serbia, since the concentration of the criminals there is high.

B-H: Pale Serb Military Seizes Refugees for Forced Labor

AU2308120196 Belgrade NASA BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 19 Aug 96 p 11

[Article by V. Simonovic: "Refugees on Forced Labor in Serb Republic"]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] According to information released by the Helsinki Committee for Human Rights [HCHR] office in Serbia, several refugees from the Serb Republic who arrived on visits to their native towns or went there for some other reason, were suddenly detained for forced labor in the Serb Republic. This illegal practice, the HCHR assesses, is occurring increasingly frequently.

Simply, without presenting them with any court ruling or valid decision by the authorities, the military police of the army of the Serb Republic arrested them and took them off to a nearby farm for forced labor. Most of the detainees were people who had not taken part in the war, so it is easier to understand the policemen's words, telling them that "since they did not fight in the war, now they have an opportunity to make up for it." The detainees just heard them say: "Three months." They were forcefully detained in Modrica and Prijedor. [passage omitted]

The HCHR of Serbia draws public attention to the illegal nature of such acts of violence against those who did not take part in the war. Such acts call into question legal security in the Serb Republic and require the authorities to take a clear attitude since any justifiable legal reason for such practices could be found only in a state of emergency, which has not been publicly announced.

Biljan Stanojevic, legal advisor to the Helsinki committee, told NASA BORBA on that occasion:

"To me all this looks like anarchy, which confirms that in the Serb Republic no legal state yet exists. Besides, the obstruction of freedom of movement appears to me as a refusal to accept the logic of peace. Our attitude is that those people must be released immediately."

Because of this violation of the elementary human rights of refugees in the Serb Republic, the HCHR in Serbia has sent a letter to the Commission for Refugees of the Republic of Serbia, the Belgrade office of the UNHCR, the office Carl Bildt, the high representative of the international community in Bosnia-Herzegovina, the Helsinki Committee of the Serb Republic based in Bijeljina, the government of the Serb Republic in Pale, and the FRY Government. The letter demands that all those unlawfully deprived of their freedom, even though they are still under the protection of the Commission for Refugees of the Republic of Serbia, be released.

B-H: Serbs Claim Weapons Destruction Causing Health Problems

LD2208092496 Belgrade SRNA in Serbo-Croatian 0845 GMT 22 Aug 96

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] Sokolac, 22 Aug (SRNA)—Over the past two days more than 40 people have requested assistance in the hospital of the Serb Republic Army's main headquarters in Sokolac and in the local outpatients clinic, complaining about difficulties in breathing and irritation of the respiratory tract and the upper stomach caused by a high level of air pollution.

The high concentration of poison gases in the air in Sokolac, which until recently was famous for being the town with the highest proportion of oxygen in Europe, is believed to be directly linked with the destruction of the weapons from the Serb army warehouse in Margetici on the Sokolac-Han Pijesak road. [passage omitted]

Since the beginning of the Implementation Force's [IFOR] Operation "Volcano" to destroy the Serb weapons, Sokolac has been almost deserted. People are not letting their cattle out to graze, all work in the field has been suspened, and children are not playing in the streets.

Croatia: Incident Occurs at Opening of UN Offices

AU2308092496 Beli Manastir Srpski Radio Network in Serbo-Croatian 1600 GMT 20 Aug 96

[Report by an unidentified correspondent on the 17th session of the "Executive Council of the Serb province of eastern Slavonia, Baranja, and western Srem" in Vukovar on 20 August]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] Prime Minister Dr. Vojislav Stanimirovic chaired the 17th session of the executive council of the Serb province of eastern Slavonia, Baranja, and western Srem in Vukovar today. As was expected, most of the discussion was devoted to the first item on the agenda, which concerned negotiations with UNTAES [UN Transitional Administration for Eastern Slavonia] and the Croatian side. Mr. Goran Hadzic, president of the Serb province, attended this part of the provincial government session. Our colleagues from the provincial press center have more detail.

[Unidentified reporter] Submitting the report on the opening of UNTAES administrative offices for issuing Croatian ID's, provincial prime minister, Dr. Vojislav Stanimirovic, reminded those present of the text of the memorandum that was agreed upon by the committee in charge and approved by the government at the last session but was not signed because of the inadequate Croatian amnesty law and because the Croatian side did not agree to return the register of births, marriages, and deaths to Vukovar.

Prime Minister Stanimirovic said that the transitional administration was informed of this government position, and informed the government members that Mr. Klein sent a reply expressing his regret that the government holds such position, and saying that the transitional administrator was, for the first time in his mandate, forced to "take executive action," as well as that the memorandum is considered a valid document even though the Serb side did not sign it.

Petar Djukic, head of the transitional police forces; Dr. Radislav Mutavdzic, secretary of the provincial secretariat for information; and Cedo (?Kontrolovic), secretary of the provincial secretariat for labor, health, and social welfare, submitted reports on the events that occurred on 19 August during preparations for the opening of the administrative office and today during the opening of the office in Beli Manastir. It was decided that this was an unnecessary demonstration of force on the part of the military component of the UNTAES. Moreover, the act of (?breaking into) the offices of the local Beli Manastir office was condemned, primarily since all the procedures for the opening and functioning of the administrative offices were anticipated by the memorandum, which, with Mr. Klein's executive action, became a valid document.

Specifically, the memorandum anticipates that the necessary security work concerning the administrative offices be carried out by the transitional police forces and the UN civilian police, and it is unclear why the authority of the civilian and military UNTAES components (?collided), as well as why the Belgian battalion armored vehicles got out onto the Beli Manastir streets.

The government decided that a letter be sent to the UN transitional administrator, Mr. Klein, with regard to this event.

President of the Serb province, Goran Hadzic, took part in the discussion of this item, and said that what happened in Beli Manastir today was not a demonstration of force, but rather a demonstration of UNTAES helplessness, emphasizing that it was extremely lucky that Petar Djukic, head of the transitional police forces, happened to be in Baranja yesterday, and prevented a major incident. [passage omitted]

Croatia: Refugee Serbs Protest Lack of Right To Vote

AU2308095196 Beli Manastir Srpski Radio Network in Serbo-Croatian 1600 GMT 21 Aug 96

[FBIS Translated Text] The Association of Displaced and Refugee Serbs of our province has reacted against the recent statement issued by the Croatian deputy prime minister in which he said that displaced Serbs will not be able to vote in the upcoming elections. The Association's letter says that in this way the elementary democratic right—the right to vote and to be elected—has been jeopardized.

The Association of Displaced and Refugee Serbs of the Serb province of eastern Slavonia, Baranja, and western Srem sent an open letter to the UN transitional administrator for eastern Slavonia, Baranja, and western Srem, General Jacques Paul Klein today in which, on behalf of 70,000 refugees, citizens of the former Socialist Republic of Croatia, who are accommodated on the territory of the Serb province of eastern Slavonia, Baranja, and western Srem, the transitional administrator is asked to use his authority with the Croatian deputy prime minister, Ivica Kostovic, concerning his recent statement that refugees will not be able to vote at the elections scheduled for the end of the transitional period.

The Association's letter points out that this position of the Croatian Government is contrary to the Erdut Agreement. "The 70,000 displaced and refugee Serbs from Croatia are therefore demanding that this problem be urgently resolved, as this would be the first positive step in exercising our civil rights," says the open letter of the Association of the Displaced and Refugee Serbs of the Serb province of eastern Slavonia, Baranja, and western Srem.

Croatia: E. Slavonia Serbs Urge Improved FRY-Croatian Ties

LD2208180496 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1737 GMT 22 Aug 96

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Erdut, Aug. 22 (TANJUG)—President of the Serb region of East Slavonia, Baranja and West Srem Goran Hadzic said Thursday that the normalization of relations between Yugoslavia and Croatia offered great prospects for a peaceful solution in the region.

Hadzic said the region, which was placed under a U.N. Transitional Administration (UNTAES) in January, had to be part of the normalization of relations between Serbs and Croats as that would help open the doors for it to the rest of Europe and the world.

'We must in no way hinder the action,' Hadzic told the press.

The region of East Slavonia, Baranja and West Srem is the only part of the republic of Serb Krajina not occupied by Croatia in 1995.

It was placed under the U.N. Transitional Administration under a an agreement reached by the local Serbs and Croatia on a peaceful solution to the problem.

Croatia: Head of Transitional Police Describes Problems

AU2308113196 Beli Manastir Srpski Radio Network in Serbo-Croatian 1600 GMT 20 Aug 96

[Interview with Petar Djukic, head of the transitional police forces in eastern Slavonia, by Jovan Vlajkovic on 19 August; place not given—recorded]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] After yesterday's 98th session of the executive council [of the Beli Manastir municipal assembly], our colleague Jovan Vlajkovic talked to the head of the transitional police forces, Petar Djukic. This is the full version of the interview.

At the beginning of the interview, Petar Djukic expressed his satisfaction wtih taking part in yesterday's successfully conducted session.

[Djukic] [Passage omitted] The main precondition for our citizens to remain in the area is economic prosperity and the first issue was how to protect property.

As I have said, in the first seven months, including the first 19 days in August, we have managed to reduce the number of offenses and violations in relation to the number of citizens and the area to a minimum, so to speak, although we should never be satisfied and should always demand more. Nevertheless, it is not [words indistinct] the remarks of the members of the executive council today and certain secretaries, saying that vehicles, equipment, and even certain factory installations have been taken away contrary to regulations. This impoverishes the area, reduces employment levels, and causes social problems, all of which make it a political issue.

I openly stated that there were certain flaws in the (?service), but I also appealed to them to show some understanding. As you know, the transitional police forces consist of three components: 1,300 members of the former provincial police, 150 members of the Croatian Ministry of Interior, and (?650) UN policemen. It takes a certain amount of time for a police structure to take full control of an area and show some operative and (?preventative) results. Moreover, a problem has arisen in Baranja, which is the unit that carries out certain security tasks, in which a conflict of authority has occurred—those have not been very prominent yet—the consequence of which was that certain equipment disappeared from the area, contrary to the positive legal regulations. [sentence as heard] I will certainly be investigating each of the specific cases and be taking the appropriate measures against the [word indistinct] who failed to carry out their tasks.

[Vlajkovic] Is this why you stated at the session that you were not completely satisfied with the activity of the transitional police forces, or are there other reasons?

[Djukic] I cannot be satisfied; the chief of police can only be satisfied when there is 100 percent efficiency in [word indistinct], when all transgressors are found and receive their due punishment. We have a considerable number of uninvestigated crimes, which must be [word indistinct]. Moreover, I said that I was dissatisfied in general; this is because the technical and material issues of the transitional police forces have not been dealt with. The July salaries issue has been resolved; but we have problems with vehicles, uniforms, and other equipment. Moreover, we have to understand that members of the police are professionals, but they are also sons, fathers, and with this insecurity a certain number of them have left. A considerable number of professionals have recently taken on managerial positions and they will need some time to adjust. Moreover, we have had a series of preparations—training 148 members of the police in Budapest, 630 in Erdut, [words indistinct] 380 in Slavonia and Srem [Serb name for Srijem], and 46 new ones—objectively speaking, it will be some time before they fully adjust. Some have their own personal weaknesses and we must certainly demand more [words indistinct] cooperation and ties.

As I have said, a police force, regardless of how many members it consists of, cannot [words indistinct] of crime without relying on other structures and without the efficient [word indistinct] prosecution of those who commit criminal acts and offences. If to this we add [words indistinct] the problem within the framework of business, the registration of companies that were [words indistinct] only to (?have Beli Manastir licence plates) on buses, tankers, and trucks without meeting their payment obligations, this aspect of economic crime has hardly been dealt with and the police will be facing a great deal of intense work in the coming period.

Moreover, there have been misunderstandings and difficulties in adjusting. Personally, I have had difficulties in the area of the so-called (?cooperation). A new commissioner arrived in place of Mr. [name indistinct]; Mr. Babic, who was the third deputy before the Croatian Ministry of the Interior [as heard], has allegedly also been replaced, and a fourth one is to arrive. This all makes me, as head of the forces, waste a great deal of time and energy on jobs that are not operational ones. For a while, I had to deal with issues concerning the securing of minimum finances for police salaries and expenses. If my demands are met, I am certain that the police will (?respond) by carrying out their tasks and meeting their obligations. It is my obligation—as I stated at this important meeting today—to provide a quick and specific answer to the question of whether we can carry out our tasks and meet our obligations with the present structure and under present conditions. The issue of citizens' personal security and the protection of their property is the precondition for their (?survival), order, work, and peace, and it is our task and obligation to facilitate that.

[Vlajkovic] You have said that your second assistant has been replaced [words indistinct]. How is the cooperation—are there any difficulties in the activity of our side and the Croatians?

[Djukic] I must say that I have not had any problems—it may be because I was chief police inspector in Croatia until 1990—I have had no particular difficulties in communicating and cooperating with colleagues from the Croatian Ministry of the Interior. We are professionals and have tasks to carry out; the war is over and there is work to be done. However, there is not enough understanding of the problem. I always repeat that this is an integral police structure that answers to Mr. Klein's deputy and, through him, to Mr. Klein as transitional administrator and to the transitional administration on the whole. Quite understandably, there are two interested parties here, and it will take some time before everything starts functioning normally.

There have been no conflicts between the members of the Croatian Ministry of the Interior and the members of the former police station, and there have been no incidents between the transitional police and the citizens regardless of [word indistinct].

I would like to appeal to the citizens to play fair with the police as an integral security factor; it is important that a policeman observes the legal norms, has the same attitude toward every individual, respecting their rights and their dignity. Moreover, we must reestablish the trust of the citizens in the police and vice versa, which will be the precondition for us to carry out our tasks successfully as the main [word indistinct] of security, [word indistinct] and (?self-protection) of the citizens. [Words indistinct] this is the reason we are present in the communities, at local citizens' meetings, which we will continue to do in order to alleviate the tension as much as possible, and for our citizens to turn towards their regular tasks and obligations, which [words indistinct].

FYROM: Parties' Stances on Draft Law on Elections

AU2208160596 Skopje NOVA MAKEDONIJA in Macedonian 22 Aug 96 pp 1-2

[Article by Panta Dzambazoski: "Will the PDP Announce a Boycott of the Elections?"]

[FBIS Translated Text] After our newspaper had published the most important parts of the text of the draft law on local elections yesterday, the political parties of the Albanians, the PDP [Party for Democratic Prosperity] and PDPA [Party for Democratic Prosperity of Albanians], came out with concrete reactions the same day.

Abdurahman Aliti, the PDP leader, stated to the Skopje BBC Albanian correspondent that he had something to say about the draft law on territorial division of the country, and announced that possible discontent with the shaping of the "new map" could produce something different: "I am not sure whether the PDP will take part in the local elections," emphasized Aliti.

Menduh Taci, vice president of the PDPA, in remarks to the same agency, had a different opinion: "We will go to the elections with the conviction that we will win, and if we win we will start an institutional and political action against the political system of the Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia [FYROM]."

Both statements announce again that a radicalization in the political activities of the Albanian parties can be expected just in time for the local elections. This also reaffirms that the tense relations between the PDP (party in power) and the PDPA (opposition, and now a practically nonparliamentary party) are a result of the approaching local elections, when it is important to win the battle for leadership among the Macedonian Albanians (the same assessment has also been given by PDP president Abdurahman Aliti). On the other hand, the statements themselves announce another very dangerous and radical turn in the situation in the country, particularly if the PDPA starts the formation of its own parallel institutions of the system.

As far as the reactions of the other political parties to the government's draft law on local elections, which has suffered numerous changes in its final version, are concerned, one can evaluate that they refrain from making personal and broader commentaries.

As we know, the opposition had a great number of remarks to make to the government's previous version. At that time, the Liberal Party announced that it would prepare its own draft law, and that it would present it for adoption. Last week Risto Ivanov, vice president of the Liberal Party, made a statement to NOVA MAKEDONIJA in which he said that his party's draft law had been prepared, but that he could not comment on it or present it to a public audience before getting permission from the party's bodies and the Republican Board. These days Petar Gosev, the leader of the Democratic Party, stated to one of our journalists that if 90 percent of the remarks that had been presented by his party and by the U.S. National Democratic Institute (which were very similar) were incorporated into the government's proposal, his party would welcome the government's efforts, and the Democrats would be "more than just happy" with the law.

After the government's version had been prepared, the Ministry of Justice assessed that 80 percent of the remarks of the opposition and of the U.S. institute had been conditionally incorporated.

In the Liberal Party, they are not familiar with the government's text in full, so they do not know whether (and how much) of the party's and the institute's remarks have been incorporated. So the fate of the prepared party's draft law is not certain, that is, whether it will be offered as complete or whether the government's version will be voted for with possible amendments. Yesterday's abstinence of the Democratic Party is similar, but they are not convinced that the government's proposal will meet the requests of the opposition.

According to what the Liberals and the Democrats said on the one hand and the Ministry of Justice on the other, our calculations are unambiguous—it is clear that there is at least a minimum of 10-percent dissent.

Poland: Solidarity Head Discusses Political Plans

WS2308100796 Warsaw GAZETA WYBORCZA in Polish 23 Aug 96 p 4

[Interview with Solidarity Chairman Marian Krzaklewski by Jaroslaw Popek; place and date not given: "The Union Will Determine My Position"]

[FBIS Translated Text] [Popek] Are you going to run in the parliamentary elections?

[Krzaklewski] I have not made up my mind yet.

[Popek] What will your decision depend on?

[Krzaklewski] It will depend on whether I will be able to attract more supporters to the Solidarity Electoral Action. This is no joke. Several tens of thousands of votes may mean a few additional seats in the parliament. The results of the most recent opinion polls show that so far I have been able to maintain popularity at the 40-to-50-percent level.

[Popek] Will you resign from office as trade union chairman if you run for the Sejm? Mazowsze Solidarity Chapter Chairman Maciej Jankowski says that he will resign from office if he is elected as a deputy and adds that you should act in the same way.

[Krzaklewski] This does not depend on my personal views or on the views of other members of the trade union leadership; the decision rests with the congress and the National Commission. My term of office runs out in 1998; I want to lead the union until that time. It is possible that I will run in the next election of the Solidarity chairman. The union itself will determine my position in the parliament. However, it is not worth making an issue of it. After all, Ewa Spychalska is the chairwoman of the All-Polish Trade Union Agreement and a deputy at the same time, and no one is criticizing her for that.

[Popek] What about other activists of the trade union? Do many of them feel like running for parliament?

[Krzaklewski] This also does not depend on their personal desires. This is a question of whether they are popular and will be able to act effectively even if they merge two functions.

[Popek] Who else can join the Solidarity Electoral Action? Is it the Movement for the Reconstruction of Poland [ROP] or perhaps the Freedom Union [UW]?

[Krzaklewski] We will hold more talks with ROP. Perhaps I will have meetings with [ROP Chairman] Jan Olszewski. The road to discussion is open here.

[Popek] What about the UW?

[Krzaklewski] This issue is closed. It has been closed because that was the will of the UW leadership. The groups that are part of the Electoral Action identify with the platform of the trade union. They support the main principles of the draft constitution prepared by the Independent Self-Governing Trade Union Solidarity. They are not libertines as far as moral or ethical issues are concerned. I cannot see room for the UW here. It is a party with an unspecified character. Moreover, if it endorsed the Electoral Action, many of the activists of the UW left wing would leave the party. I do not think there is a single person in this party who would like to see that happen—maybe with the exception of the group of politicians with clearly Christian Democratic views.

Poland: Telecommunications Official on Privatization

WS2208115596 Warsaw LACZNOSC in Polish 21 Jul 96 pp 4-6

[Interview with Dr. Emil Plodzien, member of the Polish Telefonia Polska joint-stock company Board of Directors, by Lech Z. Niekras; place and date not given: "TP S.A. Will Be Privatized"]

[FBIS Translated Text] [Niekras] It is generally known that the TP S.A. [Telefonia Polska joint-stock company] is being prepared for privatization. What can you say about this?

[Plodzien] I can say one thing for sure. The TP S.A. will be privatized, and a large group of people are working on this—both at the TP S.A. and at the Ministry of Communications. The TP S.A. must be privatized! Both international conditions urge this, in light of Poland's participation in economic integration processes within the EU framework, as well as domestic factors that are a result of the necessity to commercialize the company on sound economic principles, to demonopolize, and to effectively compete with other operators. The following issues still have to be determined: the method, the scale, and the pace of the privatization process. There is no doubt that the privatization process should be preceded by many activities in the field of restructuring and increasing the effectiveness of the company's operation. Preparations for privatization are being held in a particular situation that has developed as a result of the still unsatisfied demand for telephones and the implementation of huge investment tasks.

The basic indicator—that is, the number of telephones in use per 100 inhabitants—currently stands at 16. Naturally, it is the average figure for the entire state, and there is a great difference between urban and rural areas, where the corresponding figure for the latter is five telephones per 100 inhabitants.

We intend to achieve the figure of 30 telephones per 100 inhabitants by the year 2000. In light of this, we will have to hook up about 1 million telephones annually. We are going to hook up more than 300,000 telephones in 1996. The annual cost of implementing this project exceeds $1 billion. The implementation of those kinds of large-scale plans evokes respect even on the part of our ardent opponents.

[Niekras] Perhaps the particular nature of the situation is also due to the fact that telecommunications has entered a period of a technological boom that offers qualitative changes. How does the TP S.A.'s strategy reflect this change?

[Plodzien] The aforementioned tasks constitute only a part of our program aimed at meeting the demand for telephones. However, we are aware of the fact that contemporary telecommunications is not just telephones that are the basic, yet no longer sufficient, element of developing telecommunications. Contemporary telecommunications is based on computer science. Thus, we have approached the issue of additional services. Under the current signed contracts, we are buying equipment that will enable us to render a whole number of additional services on the basis of main services, due to the creation of a very expensive network.

Going back to the subject of our conversation, I would like to say that there is no doubt that the problems experienced during preparations for the company's restructuring and privatization are of a strategic nature because they play a decisive role in both the current and future condition of Polish telecommunications. Therefore, we are aware that there is an urgent need to complete the process of internal changes that will facilitate the company's more effective operation and eventually increase its price in the privatization process.

[Niekras] What is the essence of the preparations for privatization that are already under way, and what is their aim?

[Plodzien] We are launching activities in three basic areas. The first is the consolidation process—that is, putting things in order within the company, taking into account our consumers' demands and wishes. Within the framework of these activities, in 1994 we eliminated 12 bureaus in the company's management. They were replaced with the bureaus of marketing and internal control. As a result, many decisionmaking processes were shortened. However, this does not mean that we have reached the top. Headquarters still makes decisions on too many issues, while sometimes decisions should be made at the bureau level.

In 1995 we carried out the consolidation of telecommunications regions and made certain changes in their territorial structure and competence. Generally speaking, those measures will serve the improvement of customer services.

Within the period of January-March 1996, we carried out a consolidation of district offices, as a result of which, for instance, the posts of deputy directors for services and marketing were introduced. This is another step toward increasing the effectiveness of our activities with an eye toward our customers. Using this opportunity, I would like to say that we have made a very successful selection of personnel who know and feel that their work will be highly assessed only if their customers are satisfied with the quality of our services. We are now getting down to the consolidation process at the level of [local] telecommunications offices, and we would like to complete the process this year.

The second area of our activities is the search for an optimal model for our company's operation. Judging by decisions made by the minister of communications, who is our owner, the TP S.A. should move toward the corporation model and eventually toward a holding with a mother company, on the one hand, which will include the leadership and the management, and a whole number of affiliated companies, on the other, which will have clearly outlined functions, a high degree of independence and—this I would like to emphasize—will be responsible for their financial results.

The TP S.A. restructuring commission has been working on this issue since June 1995.

[Niekras] What is the methodology of the commission's activities?

[Plodzien] Taking into account the range of issues and the peculiar nature of some of them, the commission has been divided into three subcommissions. The commission tentatively called "the key" deals with the TP S.A.'s key problem—that is, the restructuring of the system of management at the headquarters and bureau level. The commission is led by Dr. Boguslaw Lisiecki. The second commission is called "business." It deals with the issue of internal entrepreneurship and works under the leadership of Director Pawel Rzepka. The third subcommission is called "the partner" and deals with issues of economic partnership and owner-type supervision, including cooperation with joint-stock societies, of which the TP S.A. is a member. This commission is led by Director Krzysztof Kruszynski, The TP S.A.'s most experienced specialists in various fields and at various levels of management work in all of the subcommissions.

[Niekras] What are the directions of the search for new solutions?

[Plodzien] The "business" subcommission has initiated extremely essential activities. As a result of a broad discussion and based on the subcommission's proposals, the company headquarters has resolved to begin planning operations aimed at creating entities with expanded economic autonomy separate from the TP S.A.'s unified organizational structure. The aim of activities carried out by the subcommission is to single out or establish joint-stock societies entirely owned by the TP S.A. Their activities can be deemed complementary to the company's basic activities. The headquarters has accepted a list of 13 issues. Those are: real estate management; public telephones; research and development activities; social activities and training; entities servicing businessmen; accounting; local operator societies; the Optical Telecommunications Equipment Center in Lublin; retail trading in special equipment; technological and individual transportation [transport technologiczny i indywidualny]; servicing radio and television program providers; and telecommunications installations.

This is not the full list of issues. At the same time, it may turn out that certain issues do not deserve to be singled out, which will be decided in the course of analytical research conducted by the "business" subcommission jointly with local branches. Pilot studies in the aforementioned fields lead to the creation of initial elements of the holding company model. We would like to operate in accordance with market principles in each of the fields.

Speaking about pilot projects, I would also like to point out that the headquarters recently decided to merge the Satellite Communications Center in Psary with the unit in Poreby Lesne. The single Center of Satellite Services will be established on this basis and will be clearly oriented toward developing market activities.

[Niekras] Should restructuring be interpreted as preparation for privatization?

[Plodzien] Preparations for privatization are closely woven together with all of the ongoing processes in the two aforementioned fields. To properly prepare for privatization, which will be the most important event in the TP S.A.'s entire history, at the beginning of 1996 I turned to Poland's outstanding specialists in law, economic analysis, finance, Securities Exchange activities, means of production, and the role of the human factor and suggested the creation of a group of experts to restructure the TP S.A. My selection of specialists was based on their theoretical accomplishments, as well as their participation in the practical resolution of tasks concerning the restructuring of large Polish enterprises. At our headquarters, we arrived at the conclusion that, within a relatively short period of time, this team will be able to acquire knowledge about the TP S.A. necessary for making preparations for privatization. This group has been operating since February 1996 and is responsible for the resolution of all of the problems related to the consolidation, restructuring, and privatization of the TP S.A. The commission is led by Professor Andrzej Herman from the Main School of Commerce. The commission comprises chairmen of all of the subcommissions and two persons from the Organization and Management Bureau of the company's Board of Directors.

Aside from the specialists' participation in creating the planned model of the company, it is their task to conduct a preliminary study of the TP S.A. privatization from the perspective of the company's interests and further development.

[Niekras] How advanced is the specialists' work?

[Plodzien] They have already developed the first model of privatization, and we continue to work on it. I think that, in the immediate future, we will be able to present the minister of communications with prepared materials. We are glad that our owner, Communications Minister Andrzej Zielinski, gives us a free hand in our activities.

[Niekras] Is there only one concept of privatizing the TP S.A.?

[Plodzien] As far as I know, independently from our research, the minister of communications has ordered research of privatization models by two independent foreign consulting companies. Those are Schroders, Allen and Overy on the one hand—which operates within the framework of the British Know-How—and the U.S. DPE Fund on the other. Communications Ministry experts do not take part in the work of our expert group. The group's conclusions will represent the company's viewpoint, while the Communications Ministry's conclusions will represent the government's standpoint. On the basis of the three studies, one report will be compiled by the end of November regarding TP S.A. privatization. The Communications Ministry will submit this report for the government's approval.

I believe that the discussion about the final type of the privatization model will be attended by the TP S.A.'s staff and management.

[Niekras] What will be the privatization procedure?

[Plodzien] I think we should hurry with preparing the company for privatization. However, privatization itself should be carried out in a very-well-considered manner and without any haste. Several important observations can be made from discussions held in the past.

First, the TP S.A. has no reason to be interested in a strategic investor. The experience of other telecommunications companies attests that only the weakest of them use foreign investors' assistance, those that have problems financing their own investments and implementing their development programs. The TP S.A. is in an entirely different situation: In 1995 the company financed more than 65 percent of its investments. To finance the remaining portion of investments, we took bank credits, including from the World Bank and the European Investment Bank. Therefore, we are not forced to seek capital assistance, although we do analyze the value of money in particular periods of time, and we are interested in acquiring cheaper money that we will be able to invest in intensifying the development process. The Securities Exchange creates such opportunities. Therefore, I believe it would be good if this kind of privatization pattern were accepted.

Second, the entire TP S.A. staff should actively and tangibly participate in the company's privatization. Therefore, we need time to discuss the privatization concept in detail with the staff. I regard this issue as one of the most important elements in the process of ownership transformation initiated by the TP S.A.

[Niekras] When will the TP S.A. finally be privatized?

[Plodzien] Taking into account all capital, time, and organizational factors, I believe that it will be privatized after the privatization of our great European partners, such as France Telecom and Deutsche Telekom. For a long time, the aforementioned companies have been making scrupulous preparations for changing their ownership structure and liberalizing the European telecommunications market. We should widely use their knowledge and experience.

I am not sure whether officials authorized to make decisions will share my opinion that the fall of 1998 would be the most favorable moment for us to enter the Securities Exchange and that our market should become completely open within the framework of liberalization not earlier than the year 2003, similar to the markets of a number of West European states.

Our management intends to make evolutionary, and not revolutionary, changes. We would like to make those changes by carrying out the necessary restructuring and not by making personnel reductions. This would give every employee the opportunity to find his place in the process.

Taking advantage of this opportunity, I would like to wish all of the employees of the TP S.A. great personal satisfaction from the privatization process. I would like all of us to be able to buy as many shares as possible, which will undoubtedly be a good investment.

Romania: Dinu Welcomes Finalization of Treaty With Hungary

AU2308080996 Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian 22 Aug 96 p 3

[Interview with Mircea Dinu, state secretary at the Romanian Foreign Ministry, by Sandor Blaga in Bucharest last week: "The Basic Treaty Is a Political Advantage"]

[FBIS Translated Text] [Blaga] Both sides regard the Hungarian-Romanian basic treaty as a diplomatic success. Mr Dinu, what does the Romanian side regard as compromise and what does it regard as gains?

[Dinu] Indeed, we can say that the expert-level finalization of the text of the Romanian-Hungarian mutual understanding, good-neighborliness, and cooperation treaty is the diplomatic success of both sides. This is a modern text that is in harmony with the European norms, the interests of the two countries in question, and the international requirements aimed at strengthening the security and stability region in this part of Europe. Of course, every mutual agreement can be interpreted as a compromise: In my view, in the case of the Romanian-Hungarian political basic treaty, we are rather talking about considerable political advantages for both sides.

[Blaga] After 11 months, why has the Romanian diplomacy contacted the Hungarian side just now to restart the negotiations?

[Dinu] The political-diplomatic contacts aimed at finalizing the text have been practically constant, and one cannot say that Romanian diplomats have contacted the Hungarian side now after 11 months. As early as in the second half of 1995, the Romanian side proposed a formulation for the joint interpretation of Proposal 1201, namely to include the relevant Council of Europe proposal in an addendum to the treaty.

The Hungarian side officially accepted this formulation—which clearly says that the proposal in question does not refer to collective rights and does not oblige the two sides to provide special ethnically based territorial autonomy status to persons belonging to national minorities. Besides, this common formulation is in harmony with the European norms, and the agreement on the issue of interpretation has opened the way to concluding the agreement. Therefore, it is clear that if anyone interprets this formulation in good faith, he understands that it does not only refer to the interpretation of Proposal No 1201, but it also represents the general and joint presentation of the issue of collective rights and ethnically based territorial autonomy at the level of European norms.

[Blaga] One could hear criticism according to which it is impossible to implement the basic treaty effectively because the authority of the local administration in Romania is too narrow for this. Do you think this is a real problem? If so, what steps will the government take to overcome it?

[Dinu] The problem you have mentioned does not have any decisive role in the implementation of the treaty; this shows the lack of practical knowledge about Romanian legislature. Romania's Constitution determines the principle on which public administration functions on the basis of local autonomy and the decentralization of public services. This is valid for Romania's entire territory, including regions with national minorities living in majority. Specifically to the current period, the existing difficulties derive from the lack of financial means, difficulties that can be found in every country with a transitional economy. Therefore, I think this issue is not decisive for the implementation of the basic treaty.

[Blaga] Aware of the relations among Romania, Hungary and the Western states, what chances do you see for the basic treaty to become something that the two sides had planned and to be also implemented in the planned way?

[Dinu] The finalization of the treaty is only a part of a long process. This finalization closes the "dossier" of the negotiations, but it can open up a new chapter in the history of Romanian-Hungarian relations. In addition to the documents that will be finalized in the framework of the initiative aimed at the historical reconciliation between Romania and Hungary, this treaty could be a special reference basis in strengthening the European-level good-neighborly relations, in accordance with the interests of the two nations and with the expectations of other European countries' public opinion.

Romania: PUNR Seeks Parliament Session on Hungarian Treaty

AU2308112796 Bucharest Radio Romania Network in Romanian 1005 GMT 23 Aug 96

[FBIS Translated Text] In a communique released today the Romanian Unity Party [PUNR] announces that following the finalization, in Budapest, of the understanding, cooperation, and good neighborliness treaty between Romania and Hungary, it sent a message to Romania's president, as well as the speakers of Romania's Senate and Chamber of Deputies, requesting that, on the basis of constitutional stipulations, the two parliament chambers hold a joint session, during which the legislators could hear the Romanian president's report on the treaty and debate the text of this document, which is extremely important for Romania's fate.

PUNR suggests that the joint extraordinary parliament session take place on 29 and 30 August, prior to the date on which the Romanian president is to sign, in Budapest, the treaty as well as the Romanian-Hungarian reconciliation documents.

It is necessary—we quote from the communique signed by PUNR President Gheorghe Funar—that during this heated period all political parties should act in the spirit of national unity and place in the foreground the protection of the Romanian people's interests, peace, and calm in our country and in this part of Europe, unquote.

Romania: PRM Profits From Dropping 'Hungarian Threat' Issue

AU2208125496 Bucharest EVENIMENTUL ZILEI in Romanian 20 Aug 96 p 1

[Editorial by Ion Cristoiu: "Has the PRM Substantially Modified Its Program?"]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] Currently the most important subject debated by the press is still the signing of the Romanian-Hungarian treaty. From this point of view, it pays off to examine the reactions of two political parties—namely, the PSM [Socialist Party of Labor] and the PRM [Greater Romania Party]. Of course, the stance they adopted now ought to be seen in the light of their future destiny. Judging from this angle, I was surprised by the furious rejection by the PSM of the idea that even mere reference to Recommendation 1201 [of the Council of Europe Parliamentary Assembly] should be included in the treaty. As both the personal statement of Mr. Adrian Paunescu, vice president of the PSM, as well as the official declaration issued by the PSM on the issue show, PSM categorically opposes mentioning that recommendation, even in its new interpretation accepted by both Budapest and Bucharest, an interpretation that is included in the treaty and that actually voids the recommendation of any explosive charge. [passage omitted]

The PRM reaction to the treaty caused even greater amazement. Judging that party from its actions and declarations so far, everyone expected it to fly into a colossal fit of rage not just because of the imminent signing of the treaty, but also at the mere idea of a good-neighborliness treaty, in itself, to be signed with Hungary. Well, the way the PRM reacted, it made proof not just of shocking calmness, which, judging from the furious reactions of C.V. Tudor [PRM president] so far, was almost inconceivable, but, even more than that, as they declared to be in favor of signing the treaty. Could this full turn in the PSM stance be purely accidental? Or is it rather a piece of evidence for the new wisdom C.V. Tudor lately claims to have acquired?

No matter how it is, if their reaction to the Hungarian treaty was not just a whim, one could safely advance the hypothesis that a substantial change has occurred in the program of the PRM leadership. The party must have realized that, by staking its entire campaign on the Hungarian threat, they are heading for an electoral dead end. This is, first, because this issue is the preferred dance floor of the PUNRf [Romanian National Unity Party], the latter leaping and swaying so vigorously here, that no other party has room to set even one toe on the floor; second, because, considering certain recent domestic and international evolutions, the issue of the Hungarian threat has become barren, one that will not yield many votes for those who like to bring it up on a daily basis.

After having examined the more recent statements and actions of the PRM, it seems to me that the PRM has placed the Hungarian issue in the background to leave sufficient room in the foreground for different issues, such as their struggle against corruption, social inequity, the pauperization of the majority of the population, and the concentration of fabulous wealth in the hands of just a few families. If this is indeed the case, from the electoral point of view I consider the move they made as beneficial for the PRM. This new emphasis laid on the leftist position of that party is a good response to the current general state of spirit of Romania's population. And, if one adds to this C.V. Tudor's virulent style while denouncing corruption, their having focused on this issue offers them great chances in the fall elections. This makes a great difference because, judging from the results of the local elections this spring, the PRM seemed to be a party that is vanishing from our political scene.

Romania: New Health, Culture Ministers Sworn In

AU2308112496 Bucharest Radio Romania Network in Romanian 1000 GMT 23 Aug 96

[FBIS Translated Text] Our reporters inform that this morning new Romanian Health Minister Daniela Bartos and Culture Minister Grigore Zanc were sworn in by President Ion Iliescu.

Romania: Melescanu Named To Head Iliescu's Support Committee

AU2208172796 Bucharest Radio Romania Network in Romanian 1600 GMT 22 Aug 96

[FBIS Translated Text] The Romanian Presidency has faxed to our editorial office a communique announcing the National Support Committee for Ion Iliescu's candidacy for the office of Romanian president and for preparing Mr. Ion Iliescu's electoral campaign has been set up, and the organizational structure of the electoral team has been finalized.

The National Support Committee for Ion Iliescu's candidacy for the office of president, the communique reads, includes public personalities from the most diverse fields of activity. Teodor Melescanu has been appointed president of the National Support Committee, while Iosif Boda has been appointed director of Mr. Ion Iliescu's electoral campaign. Ioan Mircea Pascu has been appointed as spokesman. The electoral team also includes Marian Enache, Paul Dobrescu, and Grigore Georgiu, among others, reads the communique received by our editorial office.

Romania: CDR Leader Supports Reinstating Monarchy

AU2208123696 Bucharest JURNALUL NATIONAL in Romanian 20 Aug 96 pp 16-17

[Reproduction of interview granted by CDR President Emil Constantinescu to journalist Adrian Munteanu of the U.S. Romanian-language magazine MICRO MAGAZIN, during his visit to the United States last July]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] [Munteanu] Mr. Emil Constantinescu, the local elections are over, but the general and presidential ones are around the corner. The Democratic Convention of Romania [CDR] has emerged victorious from the local elections. Do you think that you can do a repeat of that performance in the autumn elections?

[Constantinescu] I assure you that the opposition's victory will be even more categorical in autumn. [passage omitted]

[Munteanu] What if you do not win? Will you run again? Will you stay in politics? What will be your future in that case?

[Constantinescu] I assure you that nobody is thinking of such a scenario. I will say it again quite explicitly: We are going to win the elections. The time of the Social Democracy Party of Romania [PDSR] has passed. The future belongs to democracy. Nobody can be fooled in Romania any more. [passage omitted]

[Munteanu] Will you allow the king to come home?

[Constantinescu] One of the first decisions that I will make after I am elected president is to bring King Mihai back home. He was born in Romania, so he must live here. Then, we will reinstate the historical truth about the institution of monarchy in Romania. The Romanians do not know the true history of their country. Only after that will we hold two referendums: one on changing the Constitution and the other on a return to the monarchy. It would be a great mistake to organize these two referendums immediately after I am inaugurated as president. At this time, only 8-12 percent of the population is monarchist, mainly the intellectuals.

[Munteanu] Are you a monarchist?

[Constantinescu] Is this a trap to find out whether or not I am an intellectual? I am joking, of course. Yes, I am a monarchist and I would like, during my mandate, to have the honor of handing over power to the true leader of Romania, His Majesty King Mihai.

[Munteanu] Where will the king live after his return home? Will you give him back the Cotroceni Palace, currently inhabited by Ion Iliescu, or Peles Castle [former royal palace in the Carpathian Mountains]?

[Constantinescu] I do not know about that now. Anyway, the choice of residence will mainly be the king's decision. We will certainly return one of his former residences to him. [passage omitted]

Romania: PD Leader Opposes Changing State's 'Governing Form'

AU2208140596 Bucharest Radio Romania Network in Romanian 1300 GMT 22 Aug 96

[FBIS Translated Text] Petre Roman, president of the Democratic Party [PD], has sent an open letter to Ion Diaconescu, president of the National Peasant Christian-Democratic Party, in which he asserts that, in the current electoral year, the development of the situation in Romania and especially the options of the electorate as seen in the recent local elections outline increasingly clearly the possibility of setting up a new government coalition that could include the Romanian Democratic Convention, the Social-Democratic Union [USD], and other democratic, reform-orientated political parties in the future parliament of the country.

I believe that I ought to point out that the USD will not participate in any alliance that includes political parties or leaders who wish to initiate in or outside Parliament actions intended to alter the governing form in Romania. Furthermore, as the USD candidate for the Romanian presidency, I consider that fidelity to the Republic is the very first precondition for loyalty to one's state and citizens, the letter concludes.

Romania: Kurdish Party's Activities in Bucharest Described

AU2208183996 Bucharest COTIDIANUL in Romanian 20 Aug 96 p 1

[Article by Cristian Rautu: "The Kurds Find Understanding With the Romanian Authorities"]

[FBIS Translated Text] The struggle for the liberation and independence of Kurdistan started 13 years ago on 15 August. Turkey and Iraq reacted violently against the Kurdish minorities living on the territories of the two countries. Since then, any manifestation of the Kurds has been repressed and thus, they found other "rostrums" from where they can express their ideas, namely Germany and Romania. If the Germans were tolerant up until last year, when massive police forces were activated to halt a demonstration, the Romanian authorities have proved to be far more democratic, albeit that the police paid a "working visit" to the congress of the Kurds held on 21 March in the Techirghiol area of Romania.

The Kurdish dissidents in our country first made their presence felt through a campaign to fill our capital city with the symbol of the PKK [Workers Party of Kurdistan], an action that took place two years ago. The Romanian Intelligence Service [SRI] entered this group in the chapter of clandestine organizations that are active in Romania.

Moreover, Nicolae Ulieru said that the SRI got in touch with the leaders of the Kurdish movement in Romania, but he did not offer any details.

Bucharest also "hosted" other manifestations of the Kurds. The most recent was a marathon rally in Unirii Square on 1 May. The action was aimed at drawing the international public's attention to the atrocities to which the Kurdish population is submitted in Turkey.

On the occasion of the "15 August" celebrations, the Foundation of Oriental Businessmen (set up in 1994, and whose emblem is almost identical with that of the PKK) organized on Sunday [18 August] evening a rally at the "Arenele Romane" in Bucharest Carol Park. Mr. Mustafa al-Hassan, the president of the foundation, told the daily COTIDIANUL that he had applied for all the necessary permits, including police protection, and that similar rallies were also held in Bulgaria and in Moscow.

As one can see, the Kurds have affection for the former communist countries. In the speeches delivered after the artistic show at the "Arenele Romane," the Kurdish speakers, as it was to be expected, turned out to be very bellicose towards Iraq and Turkey. Certainly, the police (both those wearing uniforms and those in civilian clothes) watched over the unhampered unfolding of the festivities.

Slovenia: B-H Opposition Coalition Holds News Conference

AU2208165196 Sarajevo ONASA in English 22 Aug 96

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Ljubljana, 21 Aug (ONASA)—The Bosnian opposition coalition Joint List said Wednesday Bosnia's September elections will determine the country's future despite the fact that many prerequisites set forth by the Dayton agreement have not been fulfilled.

"Instigators work hard on ethnic homogenization, but we sincerely hope that destructive forces will not win this time, and the process of legalizing the current situation will not succeed.... Hopefully some competent and democratically oriented people will join the scene and win eventually," Nijaz Skenderagic of the Joint List told a news conference in Ljubljana.

"Peace needs fresh people and the Joint List has such individuals in its ranks, who know exactly what are our needs and how to realize them, and how to organize Bosnia and not to endanger anybody," Skenderagic said.

"The picture of the Dayton agreement is far from an ideal one, but its principles offer enough guarantees concerning Bosnia's future and its survival as a legal state," Ivo Komsic said, adding that if "primal Bosnians" win the forthcoming elections, the reintegration process will be impossible to stop.

Federal

FRY: Granic, Milutinovic To Sign Normalization Agreement

AU2208175996 Belgrade BETA in Serbo-Croatian 1537 GMT 22 Aug 96

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] Belgrade, 22 August (BETA)—At the invitation of the FRY Foreign Minister Milan Milutinovic, Mate Granic, deputy prime minister of the Croatian Government and Croatian foreign minister, will pay a one-day visit to Yugoslavia tomorrow, the Federal Foreign Ministry announced today.

As BETA has learned, FRY and Croatian Ministers Milan Milutinovic and Mate Granic will sign the agreement on the mutual normalization of relations tomorrow.

The agreement will be signed in the Palace of the Federation at 1200 [1000 GMT]. Afterward the ministers will make statements for the public. [passage omitted]

FRY: Government on Normalization of Relations With Croatia

LD2208223996 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 2111 GMT 22 Aug 96

[FBIS Translated Text] Belgrade, 22 Aug (TANJUG)—The federal government discussed and determined the text of the agreement on the normalization of relations between the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia and the Republic of Croatia at today's session, chaired by Prime Minister Radoje Kontic, the federal Secretariat for Information announced this evening.

The federal government assessed that the agreement on the normalization of the Yugoslav-Croatian relations was a crucial step in resolving the Yugoslav crisis, one that insured the return of peace to the former Yugoslavia.

The agreement sets long-term foundations for the development of relations and cooperation between the FRY and the Republic of Croatia in the interest of nations and citizens of both countries, as well as for the resolution of certain issues stemming from the Yugoslav crisis.

The agreement creates conditions for arriving at mutually acceptable solutions related to territorial issues in further negotiations. It envisages the free and safe return of refugees and the displaced and solutions to other important issues.

The federal government assesses that the active position of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia in the negotiations to reach this agreement is yet further confirmation of our country's constructive contribution to the strengthening of peace and the stabilization of circumstances in the area of the former Yugoslavia.

The federal government stressed the importance of the complete and consistent implementation of the agreement: both sides will in practice confirm their commitment to the development of stable relations and cooperation on the bases set out in this agreement.

The agreement will be signed by Milan Milutinovic, minister of foreign affairs and deputy prime minister, and Dr. Mate Granic, minister of foreign affairs of the Republic of Croatia, on 23 August in Belgrade, the statement from the federal government session says in conclusion.

FRY: Official Reports on Zagreb Talks on Missing Persons

AU2208150996 Belgrade Radio Beograd Network in Serbo-Croatian 1300 GMT 22 Aug 96

[Report by Zarko Simovic]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] None of those who appear on the Croatian list of missing persons are being held in persons in the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia. There are only 11 persons from Croatia held in prison for having committed various criminal acts. But they are not on the list of missing persons. This was stated among other things by Pavle Todorovic, chairman of the federal government commission for humanitarian issues and missing persons, at a news conference in Belgrade after two-day talks between the two commissions in Zagreb. Zarko Simovic reports:

[Simovic] According to Prof. Pavle Todorovic, chairman of the federal government commission for humanitarian issues and missing persons, the talks in Zagreb were constructive and were conducted in a working atmosphere. As Prof. Todorovic said, the talks were held according to the protocol signed on cooperation between the two commissions.

After the comprehensive and exhausting talks that lasted two days, the FRY government commission informed the Croatian side in writing that none of the missing persons from the Croatian commission's list of missing persons are being held in prisons in the FRY, except 11 persons who are in prisons in the FRY for having committed criminal offenses. These persons are not on the list of those missing.

The Croatian side was also given a list of 1,105 persons who were killed in Vukovar in 1991. Prof. Todorovic said 770 have been identified and 335 are still unidentified. [passage omitted]

The commission of the Republic of Croatia made a statement in writing that Ivica Vuletic, Milan Uzelac, and Slavko Ilic are the only persons from the Yugoslav list of missing who are being held in Croatian prisons. According to this statement, no one else is being held in Croatian prisons. [passage omitted]

As Prof. Todorovic said, the Yugoslav side is claiming from Croatia a total of 3,578 persons. Of this number, 980 are claimed by Yugoslavia, and 2,500 are from the territory of the Republic of Serb Krajina. [passage omitted]

FRY: Kontic, N.Y. Delegation Urge Normalized Relations

LD2208180696 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1626 GMT 22 Aug 96

["Pool" item]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Belgrade, Aug. 22 (TANJUG)—Yugoslav Prime Minister Radoje Kontic and New York City Foreign Policy Council Members Topping Seymour and Phillips David Lawrence urged Thursday as quick as possible normalization of relations between Yugoslavia and the U.S.

Kontic said the elimination of the so-called outer wall of sanctions against Yugoslavia would be the greatest contribution to the consolidation of peace in the former Yugoslavia and beyond, a government statement said.

Seymour drew attention to possibilities of influencing the U.S. public opinion and foreign policy and said the New York Foreign Policy Council wanted to help eliminate the outer wall of sanctions against Yugoslavia and Yugoslavia's international reintegration.

FRY: Refugee Commissioner Appeals for Continued Humanitarian Aid

LD2308111096 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1103 GMT 23 Aug 96

["Pool" item]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Belgrade, Aug. 23 (TANJUG)—Serbia's commissioner for refugees Bratislava Morina urged the World Food Program Friday not to close its Belgrade office and to call on donors not to cut their aid to Yugoslavia, especially not the aid in flour.

Morina made the appeal in a talk with WFP representatives, headed by operations director for the former Yugoslavia Jean-Marie Boucher.

Morina said the recent registration had shown that there were 700,000 refugees in Yugoslavia and that their return home in large numbers was not likely even next year.

She noted that most of the humanitarian organizations had drastically reduced their programs for Yugoslavia after international factors had announced a massive return home of refugees early this year.

Morina said the reduced aid had hit hard thousands of refugees.

She noted that despite the 100 million German marks provided by the Serbian Government this year, about 10 million German marks were still needed to cover the refugees' basic needs in food.

Boucher said the aid in food would depend on the donors, who he noted were showing signs of slackening as a result of the years-long crisis in the former Yugoslavia.

Boucher said the Belgrade WFP office would continue to provide aid for the neediest refugees in keeping with its possibilities and would continue to buy flour on the local market in order to help the Yugoslav economy.

Head of the Belgrade WFP office Douglas Broderick and his deputy Damiano Scalici also attended the meeting.

FRY: No 'Surprises' Expected in 'Important' Nov Elections

AU2208125196 Belgrade BETA in English 2137 GMT 21 Aug 96

[BETA commentary]

[FBIS Transcribed Text]

Elections Are Not Going to Bring Any Significant Changes

According to the Yugoslav president Zoran Lilic, instead of its regular mid-December date, November 3 was chosen as the federal election day in Yugoslavia because of its "nicer weather"; it may mean that the ruling party moved the elections ahead of schedule being afraid of a large number of abstainers.

Besides the federal elections, the Montenegrin parliamentary elections and the Serbian local elections (the municipal and city elections) will also be held on November 3.

Several polls commissioned by the ruling Socialist Party of Serbia (SPS) in the last several weeks (both for the public and for the internal party use) show that up to 60 percent of the FRY voters could abstain from the elections, a number much higher than in the 1990 elections (30 percent), and in the 1993 elections (38 percent). The abstaining of around one million ethnic Albanians from Kosovo is included in this figure.

Though they are not expected to result in any surprises, the forthcoming elections are important for several reasons. The ruling parties of Serbia and Montenegro—the Socialist Party of Serbia (SPS) and the Democratic Party of Socialists (DPS)—have not been faced with any serious challenge of their newly-adopted peace course since the signing of the Dayton Accord.

The Forecast

If there is any public opinion in the two FRY federal units, the apathy is the only emotion it generates. Under such conditions, there is no energy needed for the execution of political changes. Analysts point that, at the same time, there is a sufficient number of voters loyal to the authorities. The socialists in Serbia and Montenegro have all the power, money and propaganda under much firmer control than ever before; therefore no large-scale changes are to be expected, they say.

If the 1993 election results in Serbia were to be repeated, in 27 voting districts the socialists could win 63 out of 108 seats in the Chamber of Citizens of the Federal Parliament. During the last federal elections the socialists had won 47 seats. Their major challenger, the "Together" coalition—consisting of the Serbian Renewal Movement (SRM), the Democratic Party (DP) and the Civic Alliance of Serbia (CAS)—would have 32 seats altogether.

Despite the attempts of the Serbian opposition to come to terms with the Montenegrin opposition, it still seems more probable that the ruling Serbian and Montenegrin socialists would make arrangements regarding the composition of the future government in a much easier way than the opposition.

Before the elections were called, the ideologues of the Yugoslav Left (YUL) and the SPS have redefined their ideology describing their two respective parties as "the left," while labeling all their political opponents as "the right." In all probability, the elections will further polarize such political structure in Serbia, which in reality is much more varied than the simplified "position-opposition" or "left-right" image offered by the authorities.

The Ideology

In Serbia, much as in the rest of Eastern Europe, there is a widespread ideological confusion. A German political scientist, H. Grebling, said that the right has been describing the left as the right, at the same time describing itself as the left, the left has been describing the left as the right, while the center's position is described both as the left and the right.

As it seems, on November 3 three large groups accompanied with several smaller parties will compete for the votes. An additional important, though a passive group will be represented by the Kosovo Albanians, headed by Ibrahim Rugova, which will play the role of disloyal opposition.

One of the three groups mentioned consists of the ruling SPS, led by Serbian president, Slobodan Milosevic, the extra-parliamentary Yugoslav United Left, led by Mirjana Markovic, the wife of the Serbian president, and probably of the New Democracy Party (NDP), the present coalition partner of the socialists in the Serbian government.

In their preelection campaign these parties have launched messages stressing the need for modernization, privatization and the return to Europe, accompanied with the ideology of equality and social justice. The YUL is also attempting to gather the votes of those nostalgic of the former Yugoslavia; by insisting on the necessity of the reconciliation of the peoples of the former federation, it is, in fact, aiming at the votes of the nationally mixed environments in Serbia.

The Coalitions

It may even happen that the SPS and the YUL, being a silent competitors, will "steel" each other's votes.

The second block will consist of the members of the "Together" coalition (the SRM, the DP, and the CAS), which may be lead by the former governor of the National Bank of Yugoslavia (NBY), Dragoslav Avramovic. Avramovic has not yet responded to the offer. The coalition, whose main objective would be the replacement of the actual authorities, has expressed its pro-European position. If it manages to overcome its present disputes it could become a very serious rival to the ruling party in Serbia.

The coalition members are being constantly appealed to by the New Democracy Party (NDP) to join the large and stable coalition with the socialists and thus strengthen the interior pro-European block within the regime; it seems, however, that such offers are being completely ignored. Despite a serious crisis it had found itself in in August, after a fierce exchange which took place at the time when the negotiations on the joining of the Democratic Party of Serbia were in full swing, the "Together" coalition is now exposed to a strong pressure of the municipal councils of the respective member-parties requiring them to end their disputes and sign a firm formal alliance. The pressure, however, is not entirely spontaneous, and seems to have been originating in some cases from the parties' centers, in a complicated tactic of mutual blackmail and bargaining.

The third block is represented by the Serbian Radical Party (SRP), led by the ultranationalist Vojislav Seselj, whose policies rest on an anti-European option, and the accusations of the authorities of having betrayed the Serb national interests. The SRP has announced an independent campaign promising to fight not only the ruling SPS but the "Together" coalition as well. It means that the idea on a technical coalition which was to unite all the opposition parties, is a highly remote possibility. The main advocate of such a concept is the DPS leader, Vojislav Kostunica, but the chances for it becoming a reality are rather slim: on the one side, Seselj does not wish to form a coalition with "traitors," while on the other, the members of the "Together" coalition do not want to run together with him.

A new election geography is established in such a way that by winning the same amount of votes as in the 1993 elections, the DPS would not obtain a single seat, not even in the downtown Belgrade, where, during the previous elections, it had secured its best election results.

The Small Parties

The division of Serbia into 27 voting districts, introduced by the new Election Law last May, has set insurmountable obstacles for small parties; hence the opposition accusations that by the new law and contrary to the Constitution, the proportional system has been replaced by the majority system by the back door.

In order to have their candidates registered in all voting districts, the parties have to gather one thousand signatures 27 times, meaning that the majority of the smaller and financially weak parties will remain out of the game. Thus, there will be no chances of winning a single seat for the parties like the Social Democratic Union (SDU), of Zarko Korac (the CAS dissidents), the Serbian Liberal Party (SLP) of Nikola Milosevic, the National Assembly Party (NAP) of Slobodan Rakitic, or the Democratic center (DC) of Dragoljub Micunovic. The ethnic Hungarian parties—the Democratic Alliance of the Vojvodina Hungarians (DAVH) and the Alliance of the Vojvodina Hungarians (AVH)—will also face difficulties in passing the election census.

FRY: SDS Expects Gains in Nov Elections

LD2308102596 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1017 GMT 23 Aug 96

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Despotovac, Yugoslavia, Aug 23 (TANJUG)—Spokesman for the ruling Socialist Party of Serbia Ivica Dacic said Friday that the party would receive even more votes at the coming federal elections than it had received at the earlier elections.

'In the most difficult times for our state, the Socialist Party of Serbia has shown that the national and state interests can be best defended by pursuing peace and by creating all conditions for a speedy social and economic development,' Dacic told a TANJUG correspondent.

He said that the quality of political parties' economic programs would decide the result of the elections.

The elections for the federal parliament council of citizens (lower house) are scheduled for November 3.

FRY: Radicals To Contest Parliamentary Elections Alone

LD2208152796 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1502 GMT 22 Aug 96

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Belgrade, Aug. 22 (TANJUG)—Serbian Radical Party (SRS) President Vojislav Seselj said Thursday that his opposition party would run alone in the Nov. 3 elections for the Yugoslav parliament.

Seselj told a news conference in Belgrade that the positions of the other opposition parties about the elections or their possible boycott of the balloting were of no concern to his radicals. 'If the SRS finds that it should boycott the elections, it will do so,' Seselj said.

He told the press that the opposition would face 'the so far toughest' election conditions, especially because of a media blockade.

Seselj said authorities did their best to skirt equal election conditions for all parties and noted that the opposition parties which had signed the accord on the presentation of political parties on state-run media 'cannot score any results in any of the elections.'

Serbia

Serbia: Hague Tribunal Opens Office in Belgrade

LD2308114096 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1100 GMT 23 Aug 96

[FBIS Translated Text] Belgrade, 23 Aug (TANJUG)—Yugoslav Justice Minister Professor Vladimir Krivokapic had a meeting in the Palace of the Federation today with Graham Blewitt, deputy prosecutor of the international tribunal for punishing those responsible for serious violations of international humanitarian law committed in the former Yugoslavia since 1991.

The Federal Secretariat for Information has announced that the federal justice minister and deputy prosecutor agreed that agreement was reached on the status of the international tribunal's liaison office with the exchange of letters between the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia and the United Nations on 8 August 1996 and that the requisite conditions exist for the opening of this office.

On the basis of the above-mentioned agreement, the liaison office opened today, the Federal Secretariat for Information has announced.

Serbia: OSCE Hails Preparations for Bosnian Elections

LD2208173796 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1554 GMT 22 Aug 96

["Pool" item]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Belgrade, Aug. 22 (TANJUG)—OSCE [Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe] representative for Yugoslavia Antonio Tsakiris commended Serbia Thursday for preparing well the upcoming balloting of Bosnian refugee-voters.

Tsakiris thanked Serbian Commissioner for Refugees Bratislava Morina for the democratic and fair organization of the balloting and said the Bosnia-Herzegovina elections were the strangest ever in the world.

Morina, who chairs the Yugoslav Commission for Rights of Refugees in Bosnia-Herzegovina Elections, said in the talk with 30 OSCE observers that the only thing expected of them was objectivity.

She said she hoped the supervisors, who would monitor the balloting of Bosnian refugees in Yugoslavia from August 28-September 3, would cooperate well with the hosts, which she noted would be conducive to a democratic balloting, one free of irregularities.

Tsakiris said that, in addition to international organizations, political parties in Bosnia-Herzegovina could also send observers.

He specified that only authorized observers were to have access to polling stations.

The meeting was attended also by representatives of the towns in Serbia in which the balloting of Bosnian refugee-voters will be held.

A total of 220,000 refugee-voters from Bosnia-Herzegovina have been registered in Serbia, of whom 98,000 will vote at 60 polling stations in Serbia, while the remainder will travel to Bosnia-Herzegovina to cast their ballots.

Serbia: Official Calls Vote Chance To Consolidate Democracy

LD2208180896 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1731 GMT 22 Aug 96

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Belgrade, Aug. 22 (TANJUG)—New Democracy (ND) official and Serbian Minister Without Portfolio Milun Babic said Thursday that the Nov. 3 federal and local elections were a great chance for the consolidation of the multi-party practice in the country.

Babic told a news conference that the elections would be a test for both the governing coalition and the opposition.

The official of the Socialist Party of Serbia's junior coalition partner said his party would sign the accord on the media presentation of political parties, although it maintained that the accord could be better.

Babic told the press that it was too early to talk about the ND's possible coalition with parties of similar programatic orientations and said that 'coalitions should be in the interest of the citizens and the parties.'

Montenegro

Montenegro: People's Party Head on Future of Montenegro

AU2208182496 Belgrade VREME in Serbo-Croatian 27 Jul 96 pp 20-22

[Interview with Novak Kilibarda, leader of the People's Party of Montenegro, NS, by Velizar Brajovic; place and date not given: "The Whites and Greens—Together"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Although it is very heterogeneous, with the exception of the Serbian Radical Party of Montenegro, the Montenegrin parliamentary opposition withdrew united from the Montenegrin parliament and agreed to act as a coalition in the next Montenegrin elections, with a single list of candidates. At a meeting initiated by Dr. Novak Kilibarda, leader of the NS, representatives of six Serbian and Montenegrin parliamentary parties met in Podgorica to discuss their participation in the federal elections and their mutual cooperation. That is why our first question to the leader of the NS was whether the high degree of conformity between the parliamentary parties of Serbia and Montenegro could be crowned with a coalition in the next federal elections.

[Kilibarda] I think a bloc of democratic parties on the federal state level would be significant in two aspects. First, it would be very strong evidence that someone is thinking about the FRY as a federal state, and second, the democratic world would see that the partnership between the two republican oligarchies, the SPS [Socialist Party of Serbia] and the DPS [Democratic Party of Socialists], was being challenged by an organized democratic idea and force. Such a democratic alliance would have special importance for the NS, because by taking part in that alliance, it would prove to all skeptics, once and for all, that the NS is not marching against its own program. As most people know, the NS would like to see a harmonious federation made up of two equal federal elements—Serbia and Montenegro; we are against separatism as much as we are against unitarianism, we want a state that is not called Yugoslavia, but simply and naturally "Serbia and Montenegro." We have made the first move at the meeting in Podgorica, and now it is a matter of the political sobriety of the Serbian democratic opposition as to whether they will unite or not.

[Brajovic] Will they?

[Kilibarda] I think that an important agreement will be made at the meeting in Belgrade. After all, the SPO [Serbian Renewal Movement], DS [Democratic Party], DSS [Democratic Party of Serbia], and GSS [Citizens Alliance of Serbia] are such a force that they can attract all the other democratically oriented parties in Serbia. In Montenegro the democratic political scene has been formed because if the liberals, and possibly the social democrats, do not run in the federal elections, their votes go in favor of the federal democratic bloc. In fact, even if a single opposition list is not achieved on the FRY level, the meeting in Podgorica that we held has significant consequences for the complex political scene in Serbia and Montenegro.

[Brajovic] The impression is that regardless of the great differences in their programs, the three leading opposition parties in Montenegro did not have much trouble in deciding to unite.

[Kilibarda] The NS and the Liberal Alliance [LS] have gotten democracy off the ground in Montenegro. The incumbent party was certain that it would continue to maintain its autocratic and semi-autocratic rule on the basis of the political conflict between the NS and the LS, or, as they are popularly called, the "whites and the greens." The source of all failures—and they are many, from a total erosion of morals to a breakdown of the economy—should be sought in the inability of Bulatovic's regime to perceive the political complex of Montenegro. It is necessary to know the past and present history of Montenegro, particularly its specific possibility to join the "white" and "green" elements in order to reach the realistic conclusion that only democracy can save Montenegro from its past, a past that wants to gallop through into the future. Montenegro is still a training field for both extreme separatism and extreme unitarianism, but it still offers wide possibilities for developing a healthy and decent policy that uses democratic and European ideas to join the past and the future, to select those elements of the past that should be continued through the present and into the future of Montenegro. The DPS and its regime are shocked by the fact that the "populars" and the "liberals" are finding common political ground, and so they endeavor to persuade the people of Montenegro that such a political alliance is unnatural. They have created an entire vocabulary of expressions that they use to designate the NS and its relations with the LS and the SDP [Social Democratic Party]. But as a result of our agreements, more space has been made for a unified opposition list.

[Brajovic] Can this serve as an example to others?

[Kilibarda] We have to serve as a very positive example to all democratic parties in Serbia. We have initiated this, and we hope that the challenge is appealing. The NS and the LS differ in their views toward the national issue, and they do not agree on the way Montenegro should be structured as a state, but in spite of these differences, they still belong to the same democratic bloc. This agreement has been reached on the basis of the conviction that such major issues can only be resolved in an atmosphere of democracy and social stability. This means that first we have to free the media, conduct denationalization and privatization, depoliticize the army, courts, and police. We have to make the DPS give back the state property that it inherited by force from the SK [League of Communists]. The NS, the LS, and the SDP are equally interested in seeing that all this is done as a prerequisite for democratic elections. Of course, we agree that a democratic referendum should resolve the status of Montenegro as a state. The NS particularly believes that the peoples of Serbia and Montenegro should say whether they wish to live together in a common state. Only after this process is over can we talk about having genuine democracy. That is why I believe that we have given a good example to the democratic parties in Serbia, which differ among each other far less than the parties in Montenegro.

[Brajovic] What are the chances of your coalition winning in the Montenegrin elections?

[Kilibarda] Our chances are excellent! If the Party of Democratic Action and the Democratic Alliance of Albanians joins our coalition, our victory would be guaranteed! Even if they do not join us, the chances are still excellent. So let this serve as an appeal to the parties that I have mentioned to join the common list of the NS, LS, and SDP, and if they do not do that, I am sure that they will regret it from time to time.

[Brajovic] But there is mention of a possibility that the opposition parties stage a complete boycott of the elections.

[Kilibarda] If the entire, and I mean literally the entire Yugoslav democratic opposition, were unanimous in its decision not to run in the elections, that would be the best proof that there should be no cooperation with the autarchic and plutocratic rule of the DPS and SPS, no cooperation at all, including partnership in the elections. That would resound even in the democratic world, but the ruling parties in Serbia and Montenegro anticipated that possibility, so they proceeded to form dummy parties that will attest to the "democratic elections." In Montenegro there are many such parties that get more media coverage, on television and in POBJEDA, than the entire parliamentary opposition. In addition to that, they are resorting to well-known methods of terror in the Federal Assembly by using delegates that leave their own parties to join their ranks, retaining the mandate and constituency of the party from which they came. The People's Party of Montenegro is also undertaking action to achieve a democratic boycott of the elections in the FRY. [Brajovic] In statements made by party leaders at the "Podgorica summit," opinions were unanimous that in the federal elections the most important thing was not to change the government; the most important thing was to change the system, to step up reforms, but also to rearrange the federal state. In that sense, on what items did you reach complete agreement?

[Kilibarda] We all agreed 100 percent that the SPS and the DPS were not capable of resolving the social and political issues of Serbia and Montenegro and the federal state. The fact that Serbia has not managed to conform its constitution with the federal Constitution indicates that the FRY was not made to suit the interests of its citizens, but on the basis of the interests of two parties, the interests of one leader. The referendum conducted in Montenegro was completely undemocratic, and Serbia did not even have a referendum to decide whether the people were in favor of a federal state or not. The whole thing was taken care of in a parliament in which one party was predominant. Until fair referendums are held in Serbia and Montenegro in which the people will decide for themselves whether they are in favor of a single state, the federal alliance of Serbia and Montenegro will not have stable foundations. The SPS and the DPS would not like to see the federal state rearranged because in the existing situation they can continue with their shady deals and transactions; using the federal assembly and the federal government as an agency for their own services, "the law is whatever they want it to be."

[Brajovic] You often cite classified information when you claim that a new Constitution of the FRY has already been written up in which the federal state will be divided into regions. What do you think about such an arrangement?

[Kilibarda] "Wherever there is smoke, there is fire," people say. In spite of the teeming quasi-political folklore, I do believe that the stories about the secret constitution are based on fact. Even if it has not been written yet, the very intention of making such a constitution is enough for people to start talking about it. Such a regionalization of Yugoslavia could only be conducted by military or police force, and in no other way. All the facts of reality indicate that it is best for Serbia and Montenegro to remain together in a federal state and to endow that federal state with part of their own statehood. But to relinquish statehood, a statehood that has been created over a very long period of time, would only lead such a "regionalized" state into genuine chaos. Only people who do not know the historical spirit of Montenegro and its present political complexity can even think about such a regional division. From the very beginning the NS has been voicing its firm belief, which it still advocates, and that is: With Serbia—always under Serbia—never! So if the unitarian-regional constitution has already been written, I warmly advise its creators never to take it out of their desk drawer, let that document remain to show the political folly of a certain people who lived in a certain time. On the other hand, let them make a referendum on that issue, and hear what the people will have to say!

[Brajovic] And what chances do you think this country has of seeing its flag waving in front of the United Nations building anytime soon?

[Kilibarda] As far as the near future is concerned, the chances are poor, and with this existing government, the chances are zilch. If the government fulfills all the requirements that have been put forward, it will fall, and if it does not fulfill the demands, the country will not be recognized. Unfortunately for us, a political vicious circle has been created here. You saw that on the eve of Richard Holbrooke's last visit, Mr. Milosevic met with the Muslim leaders of the Sandzak. He did not meet with the political representatives of the Muslim people in Serbia and Montenegro, but the Sandzak! With that he wanted to show Mr. Holbrooke that he was thinking about some problems that are up in the air, he showed him that he was prepared to resolve the problem of

Kosovo and some other problems whose outlines are beginning to appear in northern parts of the country. So the euphoric climate from the time of the "happening of the people," and songs such as "Serbia will be whole, and not made of three parts," is now changing into a different, twofold climate. The authorities are scared stiff that the people will not take kindly to being shifted from a state of romanticism to a state of realism, and those who think their rights have been violated are living in the illusion that the flag of the FRY will not wave in front of the building on the East River before their issues have been resolved. Such things happen to every policy that cuts before it measures. The government of the DPS and the SPS truly have nothing in their genes of the policy of Peter I, Prince Milos, and Nikola Pasic.

[Brajovic] Defending itself from the attacks of the opposition, the government keeps insisting that its greatest merit is that it managed to preserve peace in Montenegro.

[Kilibarda] Yes, the regime of Mr. Bulatovic is bragging vainly that it has preserved peace in Montenegro, although no one had ever attacked Montenegro... In fact, it was just the opposite. War was being fought on the borders of Montenegro, and the Montenegrin government had conducted a zigzag policy that almost resulted in a bloody conflict in Montenegro. When the Serb frontline positions in Bosnia were still strong, the regime provoked scuffles with the Muslims in Plevlja, and then they announced that Montenegro was being threatened by the forces of Alija Izetbegovic. Later that same regime claimed that it was the Muslims, not the Serbs, that were threatened in Plevlja. Once earlier, President Bulatovic said that he was proud of the army that went into a new war. Now he says that General Kadijevic had tricked him by telling him that 30,000 Ustashi ravagers were marching to attack Montenegro. That is why, according to him, the Montenegrins attacked the "pearl of the world's cultural heritage [referring to Dubrovnik]." Gentlemen, peace in Montenegro was achieved by Slavko Perovic and Novak Kilibarda, by turning the two strongest political formations in Montenegro, the People's Party and the Liberal Party, away from the edge of the abyss and bringing them back into the sphere of normal political and democratic rivalry.

[Brajovic] What arguments will you use against the DPS in the elections?

[Kilibarda] Uros Klikovac, federal minister, vice president, and minister of justice, said that the connection between the mafia and the government here "could be seen with the naked eye." Such a state of affairs in the FRY and Montenegro would be enough to topple the government and replace it with one that is better and more responsible. The erosion of social ethics, the country's isolation, flirting with the communist past, and bank accounts in Cyprus are facts that will break the government of the SPS and DPS. And aside everything else, the fate of the Kraina, Sarajevo, and Slavonia alone are enough to send the present regime to the margins of history.

[Brajovic] You used to mention Prevlaka a lot as an argument in favor of removing the current government.

[Kilibarda] Yes, yes. Mr. Bulatovic is complaining that Mr. Tudjman abandoned the "gentlemen's agreement" that they had made verbally. Now things have become serious, Prevlaka has fallen within the post-World War II boundaries of Croatia, and this piece of land has become a very profitable bargaining chip for Mr. Tudjman. Bulatovic has promised to resolve the issue of Prevlaka, but after the elections. Bulatovic's political inability to resolve the Prevlaka issue would be enough to knock his regime over. We should not forget that Prevlaka is not solely a Montenegrin, but primarily a Yugoslav issue. Yugoslavia's shaky situation and Prevlaka have very much to do with each other. The policy that is not able to perceive international circumstances and has no ability to see ahead, will always have its Prevlakas in one form or another.

[Brajovic] What will be the first move of the coalition government, if it trades places with the DPS, that is?

[Kilibarda] First we would legally strip the DPS of its property that it inherited from the League of Communists. This includes numerous mansions, technical equipment, and other assets. Let me just point out a detail. The building of the former Central Committee of Montenegro was inherited by the DPS. Then the DPS rented it out to the Government of Montenegro, which pays its rent to the DPS. Government money is going directly into the hands of the DPS. Another way of putting this would be that the deputy chairman of the DPS, Mr. Milo Djukanovic, has rented out the building to the government of Mr. Milo Djukanovic.

[Brajovic] Will the socialists give up their rule just like that?

[Kilibarda] I am not at all certain that they will. Svetozar Marovic said unwittingly in an interview that the DPS was prepared to accept the results of the elections, whatever they may be. Imagine the impossible. Imagine, for instance, President Clinton saying that he will accept the results of the U.S. elections, whatever they may be. Really, things can happen in this country that can happen nowhere else in the democratic world. So let us be wary when we speak about the willingness of the DPS and the SPS, to use their own expression, to "accept" another government beside their own! May God help us.

[Box, p 20]

We Are Waiting for the Students

[Brajovic] You had announced protest rallies. Will there be any?

[Kilibarda] The NS, LS, SDP will organize a large rally in Podgorica. We have not agreed yet regarding the date; we have to wait for the students to get together. The fall is a good time for rallies. The number of people that attend the rally will be an indication for the government and the opposition. Perhaps the three-man team, Bulatovic-Djukanovic-Marovic, would like to see some rallies; after all, it was on the crest of numerous political rallies that they came to power.

[Box, p 22]

Rebellion

[Brajovic] The leaders of the opposition parties of Serbia and Montenegro mention rebellion as a form of extraparliamentary battle...

[Kilibarda] I think rebellion is not in the hands of the political parties, but the citizens, the people. Parties organize meetings and rallies that have to conform to the prescribed laws, while rebellion is a spontaneous act. Naturally, the political wisdom of a political party will determine the possibility of resorting to rebellion. A rebellion directs its activity in one direction or the other, which means it can be turned in the ideological and political path of a party or democratic bloc. If a political party provokes a rebellion, this party could burn up on its own fire, but if a party, or a coalition of parties, stands at the forefront of the rebellion, it means that a process is being carried out that has a good chance of succeeding. In any case, the following is always true: Vox populi, vox Dei!

Montenegro: Popular Party, Liberal Alliance Form Coalition

LD2208180396 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1622 GMT 22 Aug 96

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Podgorica, Aug. 22 (TANJUG)—The Popular Party and the Liberal Alliance of Montenegro formed a coalition for the November 3 elections under an agreement signed by their presidents Novak Kilibarda and Slavko Perovic here Thursday.

Kilibarda and Perovic said in a joint statement distributed to the press that the two parties held 'different views on fundamental issues of the state and national status of Montenegro.'

The Social Democratic Party of Montenegro is expected to join the coalition.

Kosovo

Kosovo: PLK Leader Says FRY Elections 'Alien' to Albanians

AU2208192896 Zurich BOTA SOT in Albanian 22 Aug 96 p 4

[Unattributed report on a news conference held by Gjergj Dedaj, chairman of the Liberal Party of Kosova, in Pristina on 21 August: "Elections in the Self-Proclaimed Yugoslavia Are Alien to Us"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Pristina, 21 August—The incessant violence of the Serbian installed police regime in Kosova testifies to the lack of readiness on the part of Belgrade to ensure a peaceful solution to the Kosova issue, which is being treated as a serious problem by the international bodies. The European Union and the United States should be confronted with this issue in favor of establishing and preserving peace in the region, Gjergj Dedaj, chairman of the Liberal Party of Kosova [PLK], stressed at the beginning of his news conference today.

The PLK hails the approval of the resolution on Kosova by the Geneva-based UN Subcommission for the Defense of Human Rights. Just as with the other resolutions, this is also a clear message telling Serbia that it cannot manipulate and misinform the world in order to justify its occupying appetite in Kosova. That is why Serbia should accept dialogue with the president of the Republic of Kosova, Dr. Ibrahim Rugova, in the presence of a third party so as to resolve the Kosova issue, Dedaj went on to say.

As far as the elections in the so-called FRY are concerned, they are alien to us, Dedaj stressed.

The accusations by criminal Arkan and police chief Radmilo Bogdanovic who, in the already known style, are trying to blame Albanians for the terrorist acts in Kosova without providing any arguments, are considered by us as tendencies that seek to compromise our peaceful movement, Dedaj said, adding that they should look for terrorists among their ranks.

The PLK hails the diplomacy and leadership of Albania, which is depicting the grave plight of the Albanian people in Kosova with maturity and constructiveness, PLK Chairman Gjergj Dedaj stressed at today's news conference.

Kosovo: BETA Views Politics After Election Announcement

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[BETA commentary: "Boycotting the Polls Once Again"]

[FBIS Transcribed Text]

Gap Between Serbs and Albanians Seems Hard To Bridge

Leader of the Kosovo Albanians, Ibrahim Rugova, has officially announced that the Albanians will not participate in the federal elections scheduled for November 3. It was an expected decision which was interpreted in Belgrade as a confirmation of the Albanian separatist tendencies, that is, of their wish to secede from Serbia and Yugoslavia and create a state of their own.

Rugova said on August 16 that the Albanians will not go to the polls "because they have already had their legitimate elections." The elections in question were held in 1992, and their result was the establishment of a parallel political system which has been operating to this day. The Serbian and the Yugoslav authorities neither recognize those elections nor the political bodies created as their result; thus, the situation in Kosovo seems as unresolved as before.

Observers in Kosovo estimate that the calling of the Yugoslav federal elections will prompt the Albanian opposition and intellectuals to require new elections for the Kosovo parliament. The mandate of the 1992 Kosovo parliament expired last May, but Rugova, who was elected the Kosovo president, has in the meantime issued a decree by which he extended it.

The Kosovo parliament has 135 seats in which the largest party of the Kosovo Albanians, the Democratic League of Kosovo [LDK], has two-thirds majority. The opposition Albanian parties are denouncing the LDK for not having officially constituted the parliament (which has not had a single session) and for bringing its decisions far away from the public, within the so-called parliamentary groups.

The Kosovo Albanian opposition therefore insists on new elections, but Rugova and the LDK are not interested in them. The largest opposition party is the Parliamentary Party of Kosova (PPK), which has ten seats, while the second strongest opposition party, the Christian Democratic Party, has four seats in the Kosovo parliament altogether.

Serbia

Among the Kosovo Albanian political parties and influential intellectuals there is a large degree of accord when the decision on not participating in the November federal elections in Yugoslavia are in question. The majority holds that the main reason for their abstinence is not the fact that they have had their elections already, but the fact that they are not interested at all in what is going on in a country which keeps pursuing an "anti-Albanian course."

The Serbian opposition parties and a larger part of the international community hold that the Kosovo Albanians should take part in the political life in Serbia because their participation may serve to enhance democracy in Serbia. If they would decide to run, the Albanian parties could win at least 12 seats in the 138-seat Yugoslav federal parliament, while in the 250-seat Serbian parliament they could win up to 30 seats. Their participation would prevent the ruling Socialist Party of Serbia and its coalition partners from gaining two-thirds majority, while increasing the strength of the opposition.

The Kosovo Albanians political parties are responding with caution to the signals sent to them by the Serbian opposition. They believe that the Serbian opposition, when the Albanians and their interests in Kosovo are in question, share the views of the ruling party. The Serbian nationally oriented parties are not showing much enthusiasm over a future Kosovo autonomy, while the civic rights-oriented parties and blocks and the moderately nationalistic parties see in the autonomy of this region a possible resolution of the Kosovo question. The Albanians, however, insist on their complete independence.

The Kosovo Albanian parties and intellectuals hold that the democratization of Serbia depends on the Kosovo Albanians to a very limited degree, and that the Serbian opposition parties, much like the ruling party itself, are homogenizing the Serbian national position by sharing the same views over the Albanian question.

Other Reasons

The Kosovo Albanian parties hold that through the 1989 alterations of the Serbian Constitution, the Serbian authorities, headed by Serbian president, Slobodan Milosevic, have finished off the constitutional position of Kosovo within Serbia, annulling its former wide autonomy. Therefore, according to them, the participation of the Albanians in the Yugoslav or Serbian parliamentary elections (for the institutions in which they could be outvoted) would only have a formal character while it would be seen as the Albanian recognition of the Serbian authorities which keep discriminating against them.

Among the Kosovo Albanians and their political parties the present constitutional position of Kosovo is discredited to such a degree that not even the rare advocates of a common life with the Serbs would accept the idea of the Albanians going to the polls. It is a widespread belief that in doing so, the Albanians would only give a "masochistic contribution" to their own political discredit.

Also, representatives of the Albanian political parties stress the "negative experience" of the Hungarian national minority in the northern Serbian region of Vojvodina. The Hungarians have failed to improve their position and minority rights, notwithstanding their participation in the Serbian political life.

As an additional reason for their boycott of the elections, the representatives of the Kosovo Albanians cite the total failure of the Serbian opposition in the parliament. Namely, in the last five years, all major decisions were brought outside the Serbian and Federal Parliaments. When the opposition decided to leave the Parliament because of the cancellation of the live TV broadcast of its sessions, all the major laws were brought in its absence. That what the Serbian opposition had failed to achieve, the Albanians would also prove incapable of achieving, with or without the Serbian opposition, the Albanian political circles claim.

According to the Kosovo political leaders, in the Serbian opposition, much like in the Serbian society in general, the anti-Albanian sentiment is prevalent. The Albanians would not succeed in changing that by taking part in the parliamentary life.

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